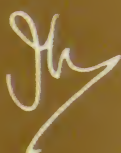


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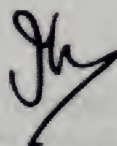
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SECOND SERIES

Volume Fifty Five (1 – 31 December 1959)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT



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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

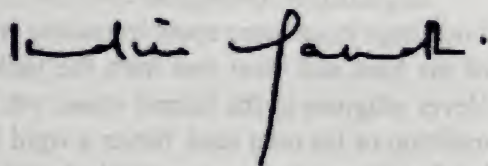
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

In this volume on December 1959 once again the relations with China, the border issue, and Tibetan refugees, are prominent in Parliament, Congress Parliamentary Party meetings, and public speeches. Important details are the divergent accounts by China and an Indian soldier taken prisoner by China in October 1959, tortured and released, and Nehru comments on Han Suyin's observations about maps and the McMahon Line. Eisenhower visited India and Nehru left detailed records of their discussions. The building of border roads is becoming more urgent. The old faithful of corruption and dissidence will not go away, while Nehru is concerned, not only about the faltering agricultural performance, but also about the manner of its projection in academic circles. As for universities, both Allahabad and Visva-Bharati attract Nehru's attention for their maladministration in different ways. On the industrial front things seem to be doing better, with the progress of Bhilai and a congratulatory message from Khrushchev.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. The letters to the chief ministers have been reproduced in part from an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal*

Nehru, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from *White Paper II* of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Malavika Menon, helped by Geeta Kudaisya. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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I. GENERAL

(a) Letter to Chief Ministers

1. To Chief Ministers¹

December 15, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last nearly six weeks ago, a multitude of important events have taken place. Most of them deserve a message from me to you or some kind of an analysis of the situation. So far as the facts are concerned, you could of course follow them from the newspapers. I have wanted to write to you, but various pressures of work have been so great that it has not been possible for me to find even a little time. In fact, it has been difficult to keep pace with even the daily routines. You will, I am sure, appreciate my difficulty and excuse me.

2. The three matters which deserve special consideration have been: developments on our frontiers with China, President Eisenhower's visit, and our planning and general development schemes, more especially because of the new situation that has arisen.

3. About China and the border situation, I have spoken repeatedly in Parliament and I have little to add in so far as facts are concerned. Nearly a month ago I sent my letter to Premier Chou En-lai,² putting forward certain interim proposals. I have had no answer to this. These proposals were, I think, reasonable and capable of fulfillment by both sides without any discredit. Undoubtedly they involve a fairly large withdrawal of the Chinese forces from certain parts of eastern Ladakh and this is not a particularly easy thing to do for the Chinese Government, situated as they are. Anyhow I am hoping for the best. If these proposals are accepted and given effect to, then the question of my meeting Premier Chou En-lai will arise. I have already stated that I am prepared to meet him and discuss the broad approach to these problems.

4. Today I placed some papers before Parliament in connection with the ill-treatment given by the Chinese to some of our men who had been taken prisoners by the Chinese authorities in Ladakh.³ It is obvious that our sources of information must be those men who participated in the Ladakh incident. It is conceivable that there may be exaggerations on both sides or attempts to tone

1. File No. 25(30)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

3. See Appendix 8.

down some particular aspect of the incident. The two accounts, that is, our own and the Chinese, differ very greatly. Yet I think that the detailed account of Karam Singh that we have given bears the impress of truth in a large measure. The story he gives is a grim and distressing one. This will no doubt create a strong reaction in our people. What then are we to do about it? The Chinese are not likely to accept our version and will stick to theirs. Many of our people may demand what they call strong measures, but it is not quite clear what they mean by this. There are only two ways of dealing with another country: one is the diplomatic one with such normal pressures that one can exercise, and the other the way of war.

5. One may be driven into war, but no country likes the prospect, much less do we in India like it. Any such war will be disastrous both from our point of view as well as probably the Chinese. It may well be the beginning of a much wider conflict. All this would mean the end of the hopes that we have been nourishing about our own progress as well as world peace.

6. In the course of the last few years very serious incidents have happened between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as well as between the U.S.A. and China. All these countries were well equipped for war and yet they avoided this ultimate appeal to arms and contented themselves with strong notes of protest, because they realized that once the dye is cast in favour of war, the future becomes one of dreadful uncertainty. Some of our friends and critics, however, think little of what war is. They seem to look upon it as some kind of an extension of a police operation.

7. Apart from the immediate problems that we have to face on our frontier vis-à-vis China, we have to realize that an entirely new situation has arisen not only for us, but also for other countries in Asia. Our long frontier with China, extending over 2,600 miles, was till recently what might be called a dead frontier with no one thinking very much about it. Now it has become a live and vital frontier and, in the best of circumstances, it will remain a frontier of dangerous potentialities. This is no new development and we have been conscious of this possibility at least for the last seven or eight years. Indeed it was because of this that we started taking steps some years ago to put up checkposts and improve communications. It is true that we did not expect the rapid development that has taken place on the Tibetan side and we may be criticized for lack of foresight. But any excessive concentration by us on frontier developments and defences would have meant, to that extent, a slowing down of basic developmental programmes in the whole of the country. Even from the point of view of defence, the five year plans were of vital importance. I do not see how we could have sacrificed them and thus sacrificed also any increase in our basic strength for defence for the sake of temporary arrangements. However, the fact is that we

have to face this difficult situation on the border and that some kind of tension is likely to continue for a long time, even if the present situation is resolved in a peaceful way.

8. Inevitably, we have to take immediate steps to strengthen our border defences. That will mean an additional burden. At the same time, we have to look to the future even from the point of view of defence. This brings us back to the need for a rapid extension in our industrial foundation and background. This leads us to a reconsideration of our five year plans. Thus, whether we look at this question from the point of view of defence or economic progress, the result is much the same, even though the emphasis might vary here and there.

9. The China crisis has led to a great deal of excitement, enthusiasm and emotion in our people. That is as it should be, provided this enthusiasm is not frittered away in loud shouting and brave gestures. How then can we take advantage of this enthusiasm for the sake of building up a nation? That is perhaps one of the most important problems we have to face today, and I should like you to give thought to it. I shall also be writing about it to you from time to time.

10. In spite of this enthusiasm and emotion, I have a feeling that most people do not quite realize the gravity and the needs of the situation. We still continue our quarrels and our lack of discipline. We talk about offering our lives for the defence of the country, but are not anxious to do a little hard work for it. How are we to turn the mind and activity of the country in a right direction? That direction can be, to some extent, a military one, that is, giving some kind of military training to our young men.⁴ There are some proposals to this effect which, to begin with, might help in the training of about 250,000 young men. The figure seems small, but it is better to concentrate on a limited number than to spread out too much at the beginning. But what I have in mind is something on a much bigger scale and not directly aimed at military training.

11. As you know, we have been giving a great deal of thought to the Third Five Year Plan, and I have frequently written to you about it. Behind the figures of this Plan will lie or should lie the story of the rapid development of our country. We have arrived at a stage when many of our past arguments do not have much importance. We have to look at the problem not in some vague ideological way, but pragmatically and with a view to our taking rapid steps on all our important fronts, agricultural and industrial. Even more than the planning part of it, we have to think of evolving methods of rapid implementation of what we plan. That indeed is the basic difficulty we have to face, because our present procedures, however good they may appear on paper, are slow-moving

4. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 585-598.

and unsuited to any rapid advance. It may interest you to read some extracts I give below from a recent article⁵ by Mr. Walter Lippmann, the well-known American columnist, who recently visited India.⁶ He may well be described as a liberal conservative and is very far from being any kind of a revolutionary in thinking. And yet, he was troubled in India. He said:-

What troubled me was the disparity between the revolutionary objectives of the third Five Year Plan and the mildness, almost Victorian mildness, and normality of the Indian political system. I asked myself whether a gigantic economic revolution can be carried out by Parliamentary politicians and civil servants without the dynamism and discipline of an organized mass movement. Again, he refers to our political institutions which he praises, but then goes on to say whether it was:-

certain, or even probable, that India can solve these problems with a normal Government constituted more or less in the British style. I do not, however, think that the British themselves would solve their problems without radical economic changes, if they were faced with the problems of the magnitude and complexity of those of India.

A strong medicine is needed, he says, even though he dislikes strong medicines. For India does not have all the time in the world to solve its basic problems by education of its masses and by persuasion. The essential economic problem must be solved within a few years, or it may well become insoluble. He further goes on to say:-

For myself the real question is whether the programme, which is no doubt conservative, can be carried out quickly enough among the 300 million persons, who live in more than half a million villages. I cannot help feeling that for such a far-reaching revolution set in a gigantic scale, in so short a time, there will be needed in the leadership of the Indian nation, and in the organization of the Indian masses, the dynamism and discipline which are not now there.

12. This may be a somewhat pessimistic view, but there can be little doubt that there is an element of truth in it and, at any rate, we must give serious thought to it. Personally, I think that the parliamentary democratic system is a good one and must continue, but while keeping its basic characteristics, its slow procedures have to be speeded up so that quick decisions can be taken and given effect to. That is to say, the administrative apparatus has to be tightened. I do not see any reason why this should not be done while preserving the essential features of the Parliamentary system. Anyhow, the present structure

5. Walter Lippmann "India: the Glorious Gamble," *Ladies Home Journal*, August 1959.

6. At the end of November 1959.

and procedures appear to be inadequate.

13.- You may be interested in some further quotations from a recent address by Dr. Max Millikan,⁷ a distinguished economist, who is the Director of International Studies in MIT (U.S.A.). Here again, we have the approach of a more or less conservative person, but practical-minded and looking to the future. He delivered this address recently in Delhi at a seminar on Planning organized by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.⁸ He says:-

“This leads me to my conclusion, which I may as well reveal at the outset, that India has a better chance of accomplishing its objectives if it tried to do too much than if it tried to do too little. If it tries to do too little, its efforts will be below the level where these complementarities between various types of programme can operate effectively to reinforce each other and to build up resources’ utilization greater than at the beginning. If you do a number of things together and simultaneously in an economy, you might very well get much more in total result than you were expecting from each one individually taken by itself.

To be more positive, my central point today really is that, in my view, development programming is characterized by the fact that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.”

14. He goes on to say:-

“There is a tendency for economists to take too rigidly the assumption of scarce means. While means are scarce, they are not fixed by any means and the total resources that can be brought to bear in under-developed countries will be importantly affected by the allocation of those resources. The total, in other words, is affected by its composition and not independent thereof. This is especially true in under-developed countries.”

15. Further, he says, referring to his emphasis on complementarities and the flexibility of resources:-

“I hear that there are untouched resources in India which can be called for by the right kind of effort. This is perfectly clear in certain areas. You obviously have huge resources of unused, unskilled manpower. Then there are very substantial levels of unutilized capacity in a good many cases and the resources available in India at the present levels of activity are not being fully utilized.”

He goes on to say:-

“Functionally, we are used to thinking that the only way to increase the national income is to increase the fraction of present income which goes

7. Max Franklin Millikan (1913-1977); Professor of Economics at MIT, 1952-77.

8. From 26 to 28 November 1959. Max Millikan addressed it on the 28th.

into saving and to cut the fraction that goes into consumption. But in under-developed areas, particularly in India, the right kind of stimulus can produce more saving, more consumption and more income. One of the things I am saying is that in order to make your forward estimates as to what resources are available, you should estimate savings from the level of income which you have at present."

16. Again, he goes on:—

"I have no suggestions to make on this problem of financing. However, I would like to suggest that we need not take the official resources too seriously, but rather concentrate on the real resources for which there may be competition between these two sectors (public and private).

He ends up by saying that the Third Five Year Plan must be a bold and imaginative one."

17. I have given these extracts here to indicate to you what the thinking is among more or less conservative foreign experts who know something about India. It would appear that our thinking lags behind this. We shall thus have to do a little rethinking, more especially because now we have to face difficult situations involving difficult choices. Meanwhile, time passes and so do opportunities.

18. The last few days in Delhi were taken up by President Eisenhower's visit and the tremendous enthusiasm and emotion that this witnessed. For a variety of reasons, we expected a great welcome for the President. But even our anticipations were exceeded. This is all to the good, and I believe there is a greater mutual understanding between these two countries now. That does not mean, as some people imagine, that we have moved away from our basic policies. It may interest you to know that in the course of our talks President Eisenhower told me that he appreciated and understood our desire to keep out of military alliances; indeed that he would not have it otherwise. We had long discussions and covered almost all the current problems of Asia, Europe and even Africa. We were not out to get anything from each other, but rather to understand, and I think both of us succeeded to some extent. One of the hopeful features of the world situation today is the strong desire for some kind of a peaceful settlement which actuates both President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev.

19. Probably, the so-called Summit meeting of the four Big Powers will be held towards the end of April.⁹ Soon after, early in May, it is proposed to hold the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.¹⁰

9. *The Indian Express* of 22 December 1959 reported the East-West Summit with USSR would be held on 27 April 1960 in Paris.

10. Scheduled for 3 to 13 May 1960.

20. I have recently seen a report from a senior officer in one of our States. This report points out how the time of our district officers is spent or rather wasted in looking after V.I.P.s and the like. Also in celebrating special days, weeks or fortnights. I should like to draw your special attention to this report and I am, therefore, enclosing an extract from it.¹¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Extracts from a Report

VIPs. Many Collectors have expressed grave concern about the time they have to spend on attending on the V.I.P.s. Actually details about such time spent are not available, but the complaint is so common that one cannot ignore it. Government has laid down that the Collector should not break his camp for attending to V.I.P.s. Yet, most of the Collectors have stated that V.I.P.s expect Collectors to receive them at the point of their entry in the district and accompany them throughout their tour. If so, this is unfortunate. Personally, I am inclined to believe that there is misunderstanding on the part of the Collectors; and the V.I.P.s do not expect this at all. They must be realising that after all, the Collector is busy only in the work in which they are vitally interested; and taking him away is detrimental to the administration. Unless the Collector's presence, therefore, is essential or the occasion is formal, the Collector should be allowed to do his duties undisturbed. No doubt, if he is at the Headquarters, he will receive and see off the dignitary, but in case he is not able to do so, he will take the earliest opportunity of calling on the V.I.P. Ordinarily, it should suffice if the District Departmental Head receives and sees off his own Minister. If the Collector's presence is necessary, he could be so told, but otherwise it will save embarrassment to him if he is informed in clear terms that his presence will not be necessary. This way, there will be no discourtesy to the Minister but, on the contrary, the Collector will be attending to his work, the efficient execution of which would only be to the pleasure of the distinguished visitor. In heavy districts (e.g. Divisional Headquarters), it might be even useful to have a senior Mamlatdar with very light work to attend on officers. Such a Mamlatdar can be

11. The enclosure "Extracts from a Report" appended to Paragraph 20 of Nehru's letter had not been published in G. Parthasarathi's *Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Volume 5, 1958-1964, pp. 335-344. This has been reproduced from the JN Collection.

utilised for other purposes as extra officer for in-service or pre-service training as will be seen in another Chapter.

No doubt it has been laid down that a Collector need not break up his camp and come to the headquarters when a Minister arrives; but it is nowhere laid down what the Collector should do, if he has already arranged a programme and then gets intimation of somebody's arrival (but before the Collector actually leaves). It will not be fair for anybody to expect the Collector to cancel all his arrangements, thereby inconveniencing a host of subordinates and the public. The Collector has to perform certain duties in a year. He arranges his programme with an eye on his inspections, arrangements for appeals, development works, on the spot discussions and so on. To expect him to call off these arrangements for the sake of just attending some occasions where his presence is not essential, is unfair to him and unjust to the administration. Once a programme of the Collector is out, not only should he uphold it, but everybody should help in doing so, unless there are special reasons to the contrary. The harm done in the Collectors neglecting normal work is incalculable.

Nearly all the Collectors have referred to the time they have to spend on celebrating days, weeks and fortnights. Apparently, a Collector now has to celebrate 2 fortnights, 15-24 weeks and 10-12 days in a year. Pre-celebration arrangements do not take negligible time. Days for the celebration of new drives have, however, limited, indeed very limited value. As an annual feature, its importance is negligible. Even for inauguration, I would rather discourage them. All such drives only help an idea to go round that the importance of a particular item is restricted to that week or that fortnight; and it is nobody's business to do anything with regard to that for the rest of the year. No administration can tolerate "progress" by fits and starts. If a matter is important, it should receive continuous vigilance; if it is not, it is best dropped soon. No wonder the Collectors feel very relieved during the few "weekless" weeks. (If in spite of all these, there must be special drives, let there be a National Week once a year).

(b) Press Conference

2. At Delhi¹²

Prime Minister: There is nothing startling that I am going to tell you today. There is nothing to report. In fact, I was rather doubtful that I should have a Press Conference so early in the month, but I thought we would all be getting busy with other things later and it may not be possible to hold a Press Conference for two, three weeks. So I decided to have one to keep up this practice. Well, you go ahead.

Question: Have you received any reply from Mr. Chou En-lai to your last letter?¹³

Prime Minister: No. We have received no reply to that. We received a letter from the Chinese Government on the question of treatment of those prisoners taken by them in Ladakh.¹⁴ That is all that we have received.

Question: What are the contents?

Prime Minister: The contents were that they treated them very well, broadly speaking.

Question: What is your reaction to the suggestion of the Cambodian Prime Minister¹⁵ to have an Afro-Asian Conference to discuss these things?

Prime Minister: I do not see how a conference can consider these questions. I knew that Prince Sihanouk had suggested a conference, but not for border disputes. It is obvious that the conference does not consider these questions. Apart from that, we do not think the present is a very suitable time to convene such a conference. I do not know about the future.

There was some talk, perhaps you know, initiated by the late Mr. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, to have what he called an Economic

12. Vigyan Bhavan, 3 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 43(73)/59-PMS and PIB files.

13. Nehru wrote to Chou En-lai on 16 November 1959. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

14. See Appendix 1.

15. Norodom Sihanouk.

Bandung Conference, just to discuss economic issues, not political. We had agreed to that. In fact, we had sent a team of our financial and economic officers to Colombo to discuss these matters there among the so-called Colombo countries.¹⁶ They gathered there and quite some work was done, long notes were prepared by our people, but unfortunately, all this has been upset by the assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike.¹⁷ I do not think there is going to be that conference, in the near future any way. That requires a good deal of preparation.

Question: In view of the situation which has arisen from the Chinese border incidents, would you agree that it is more important than even before that the Plan should be continued in its entirety, that there should be no cut and that to build up the country as you have said, greater emphasis should be given to projects in terms of their nation building content and return? Or do you expect a cut?

Prime Minister: The question is in view of the development of this situation on our borders; it is all the more important to continue our Plan in a big way. That is a question after my heart. I entirely agree and, in fact, not I but people who have given thought to it agree on this. So far as the plan is concerned, on the one side, there are obvious physical limitations, i.e. in regard to our capacity. We cannot act up to our wishes but, on the other hand, it has been accepted and admitted by all kinds of parties—I mean people holding different views on economic questions—that the plan has to be a big one, big not just to show, I mean to say an adequately big one to meet the demands of the economic situation. This view is not only widespread in India, but for our information, even those who are taking interest in our planning and development in other countries hold the same view. I do not wish to mention names but people high up in these matters, in economic matters in other countries, because more and more it is realised that every big effort put in now saves us from a much bigger effort later and helps us to make to go ahead faster, and every lack of effort means a tremendous burden in the future.

That is quite apart from the border issue or any other. But when you add our present border troubles and the possible consequences, it becomes all the more important to do that. Of course, there might be slight internal variations in the Plan because of this, but the basic foundation of the Plan is two-fold, agriculture, more agricultural production and heavy industry. Both are

16. See SWJN/SS/50/pp. 229-231 and SWJN/SS/51/p. 561 and pp. 595-596.

17. Assassinated on 26 September 1959.

tremendously important at any time and become more important if there is any kind of a crisis to be faced.

Question: Is there any truth in the report that Dr. Adenauer of West Germany is coming to India?

Prime Minister: I have not heard of it.

Question: There were some Press reports in Indian newspapers...

Prime Minister: We have had no communication to that effect.

Question: The President of Pakistan the other day said that any settlement over the Ladakh region between Indian and China would not be acceptable to them.¹⁸ Do you think that this dovetailing of the Kashmir issue and this would be helpful?

Prime Minister: I do not know what you mean by "dovetailing", but it is obviously attached to the Kashmir issue. There is nothing for me to say about this.

Question: Your appreciation of the Plan, you must have noticed, is completely opposed by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, that is, they want a much smaller Plan than Rs. 10,000 crores, which will entail an investment of Rs. 10,000 crores and, secondly, for very obvious reasons they are neither for emphasis on agriculture, nor for heavy industries.

Prime Minister: I am surprised, because I have an idea—I may be mistaken, I have not read the report very fully or carefully—I have an idea that even this Federation wanted a big Plan, and even that figure was mentioned by them.

Question: Very very reluctantly they have come to reach to that figure, but essentially they are opposed to that figure of Rs. 10,000.

18. On 23 November 1959 Ayub Khan rejected the idea of a no man's land in Ladakh. Asked whether he would inform Nehru of his views, he said: "Let such an arrangement come, then we can talk." See *The Indian Express*, 24 November 1959 and *The Hindu*, 26 November 1959.

Prime Minister: I cannot examine their mental processes. (Applause) I take their decisions. How can I do that? I cannot understand how anybody can ignore the agricultural front. It is obvious everybody must accept it. The other, heavy industries feature, has also been accepted broadly. It is obvious that our thinking, our approach and our conclusions, i.e. mine and the Federation's are likely to differ in many points.

Question: Can you go back to the old process of calling subjects first and answering them?

Prime Minister: I rather deliberately did not do that. But whenever we take up a subject, let us finish it and then go on to the other.

Question: About what you have said on planning, does the situation give India an opportunity, being more dynamic in planning and raising more internal resources, e.g. raising the land revenue if necessary, and being more drastic about priorities in terms of return?

Prime Minister: I should imagine so. Yes. Naturally, in any planning, the vital element in that planning is the popular reaction to bearing burdens—hard work and bearing burdens and that type of reaction is likely to be more when they have a sense of dangers ahead which they have to face.

Question: Coming to the Plan again, Sir, the Revenue Minister, Mr. B. Gopala Reddy, had stated in Kanpur the other day that the Planning machinery will be geared to war production. So, planning will be there. But, I wanted to know what your conception of planning during this emergency period, whether it will be geared to peaceful requirements or to war requirements. Otherwise, this statement is likely to confuse the ordinary man.

Prime Minister: These questions may well confuse. They really do not apply to conditions as they are in India so much as they might to a Great Power with vast armament programmes and all that. Here, in India, we are at a low level in regard to armaments and other things. In effect, the biggest things that we want for one are also wanted for the other. It is common, except for a little more emphasis, a little more expedition. But minor adjustments have to be made certainly.

Question: Now, the real question is whether we want bread or guns? The

whole question has to be decided in terms of these two.

Prime Minister: That question does not arise in India in the same way, I am trying to point out to you. As a matter of fact, the question is rather rhetorical. Bread is sometimes more necessary than guns for the army. An army does not fight without bread. If you say that we should give up luxuries, certainly, of course. But, when I talk about agricultural production being the most important, it is obvious that whether you look at it from the point of view of defence or anything, it is of the highest importance that there should be enough—not luxuries but food to eat, and enough food for the rest of the population to work hard. These are obvious things purely from the defence point of view.

When I talk about heavy industry that is quite essential from the defence point of view more so than the other, more so in the sense that one may take a little more time otherwise if you have to expedite that. It is equally important from the development point of view. We are after industrialisation. Industrialisation will speed up greatly if we have this base of heavy industry. What does this mean? Iron and steel, big machine making industry, which can make iron and steel plants; more power. These are the essentials for any growth, military, civil or anything. Where these have been obtained, say in the USA, a high standard of everything, there it is a question of shift over. If they want to cut down their armament programme they shift over to civil kinds of production; but that question in that sense does not arise here. The base has to be built for both, it is a common base. Of course, certain shifts will have necessarily to be made about other parts of the structure, whether it leans more towards defence or other things.

Question: The Federation have said that they would not be able to play their part to fulfill the 10,000 crore outlay unless the present tax system is radically reoriented so as to give them more incentive and secondly, they also said that there should be a less rigid approach in regard to the priorities for the public and private sectors, i.e. they should be allowed more room in regard to industries in Schedule "A" of the Policy. Will you give your comments?

Prime Minister: I do not agree with them. That is all. I will say why I do not agree with them. I want to give them the widest possible scope for development of private enterprise. There is an enormous field in India untapped. The argument only arises, as you said, about the industries mentioned in category "A" which are reserved for the public sector. Even there, those that are being carried on already we do not touch. So that it is odd that all this argument should take

place about a number of industries which we reserved, while thousands and thousands of types of industries are potential industries and are open to them, which we want to encourage in every way.

Yesterday, or the day before, I spoke in the hall down below in a seminar on "Management of Public Enterprises in the ECAFE Region."¹⁹ I said something very elementary, no doubt, about our approach. I find that it is better to talk in elementary terms so as to make one's position quite clear. We are driven, not by ideological considerations, but by the logic and compulsion of facts, to certain things. Admitted India is an underdeveloped country, a poor country with lower standards. These have to be raised. It has to develop and it has ultimately, or as soon as possible, to develop a dynamic, self-generating economy so that it can grow on its own efforts.

Till then, the burden is great and all kind of help is required whether in capital equipment, whatever it may be. I don't mean to say at any time we will become isolated from the world. Not at all. But we become as industrialised and progressive countries are—that they generate their own power in various ways. How are we to do that with small resources, relatively small resources? We must make the best thought-out and planned use of those resources; otherwise they may be used for good purposes, but not for purposes which lead us in the direction we want to go.

Once I gave this comparison of war-time. It is not, of course, a complete comparison naturally. But the compulsion of war, when it is a life-and-death struggle, makes a country plan for winning, for victory. Everything else goes. I do not say that some compulsion, in that way, is with us, but think of that, the compulsion of going ahead economically or else go down. In the ultimate analysis it is a greater compulsion than that of war. Every government whatever it is in war-time has to plan for victory, plan its industries, plan this and that and for that purpose. If we are now planning for industrial development we have to plan more or less in the same way, keeping that in view how we can reach the stage which is called by economists "the take-off stage", from a rather static or slow-moving economy to a dynamic economy, which is self-generating, self-feeding.

That involves, broadly speaking, modernisation of our social and economic apparatus, because it is modernisation, industrialisation and so many things connected with it which has raised the standards in Western countries to these amazing heights. It requires hard work of course; but all the hard work in the world will not yield that unless we utilise the modern sources of power.

19 See item 87.

There are many ways of writing history; but a very interesting way of writing history would be how fresh sources of power have increased the power of the human race and the standards of the human race, therefore, we have to utilise these sources of power. Those sources of power could only be used by modernisation and industrial processes. Industrialisation involves producing the basic requirements of industrialisation in the country. The basic requirements are certain things, whether it is iron and steel, power, big machine-making industries and chemical industries. You can name them whatever they are, a thousand and more. That becomes essential and it becomes essential to utilise our meagre resources to that end, although doing that means carrying a big burden to begin with. One has always to balance how much burden a people can carry. You cannot overdo it because they break down, if you underdo it, you do not make fast enough progress and there is the population going ahead at a fast pace, waking us up. The moment we slacken, it overtakes us.

These problems lead inevitably to certain conclusions regardless of any ideology one may hold, and, that is why, more and more people, with completely different so-called ideologies, have arrived in India at the identical conclusions, minor things apart. We had advisers: they come and go, from a large variety of countries in the world—U.S.A., Canada, England, France, Germany, the Russians, the Japanese—professors, economists, planners have discussed it with us. We had never discussed with them ideological questions. We discussed practical problems, how to do it, and you will find that as soon as you get out of this argument about ideology, people differing come very near each other in the arguments because they are dealing with the hard facts.

Question: That is why Mr. G.D. Birla made a recent statement that socialism is on the wane.²⁰ It is unwanted by people of the world, as shown by the British Labour Party's defeat and the French Socialists' defeat.

Prime Minister: It is natural for Mr. G.D. Birla, perhaps, to think so, because his conditioning factors necessarily lead him to think so; my conditioning factors lead me to the opposite conclusion.

20. Addressing business representatives in Calcutta on 9 November 1959, Birla said: "...Sometimes I ask myself if the world is moving away from socialism. I cannot say that. But it looks like Marxism which has become out of date, so-called socialism is also going out of date. At any rate, after Russia, many countries which adopted socialism have dropped it. As a prudent people the British the other day 'gave their verdict against socialism'." See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 10 November 1959.

Question: Indirectly, it is a criticism of the Congress planning which dwells more and more on

Prime Minister: May be. You see a great deal depends on the objectives one has. When we talk about socialism there are two major aspects of it; one is a certain ethical conception; the other is definitely a practical conception. The crusading spirit that people get out of it is through the ethical conception; but the ethical conception would collapse if it was not backed by practical logic. Again, a prosperous community may think in one way, that is to say, in a rather static way. It is prosperous. It does not want to risk the prosperity; while a country which is far from prosperity wants change, and, therefore, it thinks differently.

Question: Some time ago it appeared from your speeches that the private sector was trying to create confusion in the country about your policies, both economic and foreign. My question plainly is this Sir, that, in view of your national appeal to the people, do you think that the private sector will rise to the occasion, and considering the gravity of the situation, will come round or continue to create bottlenecks for you?

Prime Minister: That is hardly a question for me to answer. I think whether we talk of individuals or groups or nations or classes, we try to think in hard and fast terms, black and white, we seldom think of the innumerable middle shades in between. One thinks of the capitalist as the cartoonist thinks of him, here in India at any rate, a person with a bloated belly sort of waddling along and of the Indian people with all their ribs sticking out. These are the two patent cartoonists' conceptions of the Indian capitalist and of the average Indian. Well, both are wrong, obviously. There may be individuals who have the bloated belly and there are individuals who are hunger stricken. But both are wrong. People are influenced by many motives, certainly economic, certainly nationalist, patriotic—and it depends on conditions, which motives have greater play. I have seen in our struggle for independence quite a number of so-called capitalists giving up everything, risking everything in the struggle even unto death. Where did economic theory come in? Some other emotions pushed them on. So, I think that whenever a crisis arises and danger threatens the country, that feeling of facing up to that danger would be widespread, whatever the class, some more, some less, that is a different matter, but it would be widespread. Even when it does not exist in a particular individual or small group, the national urge will be so great that the small element of obstruction will be drowned in it.

Question: Is that valid for the Communist Party?

Prime Minister: No. That is not valid, may or may not be, but for the individual there it is valid. It depends how the individual reacts. You can see that today.

Question: In your last speech in the Lok Sabha, you had said that historically a strong China was always expansionist and the accession of strength in China, in their industrial programme, growth of population, was leading China into another expansionist phase. How do you think this Chinese expansionism can be checked?

Prime Minister: Surely, that is not a question for me to answer. It is a much larger question than one affecting us only. You come up in all these matters against the basic fact of today that any attempt to change, broadly speaking, the present status-quo leads to major conflicts between nations, even ultimately, to a world war, which presumably nobody wants, because it involves so much destruction and annihilation that there is no victory left. Therefore, the world is welcoming the various recent steps taken by President Eisenhower, Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Macmillan and others to find a way out. In fact, the very taking of these steps has reduced tension in the world. It has not solved any problems; it has reduced tension which is a good thing. In the ultimate analysis, therefore, these questions of any expansionist tendencies of any country are going to be checked by these steps, world steps, as well, of course, as local steps which may be taken to oppose such tendencies.

Question: You said that the present time is not appropriate for another Bandung Conference. The Bandung Conference when it met last time laid down certain principles. Do you think that the Afro-Asian nations should meet in this Bandung club only when there is complete peace? One of the principles which the Chinese did accept at the last meeting was the statement they issued about the overseas Chinese which in respect of Indonesia seem to have run into some difficulties.

Prime Minister: These are questions relating to the relations of two countries, apart from India. I do not think it is right for me to discuss them, partly because I may not know all the facts and partly, it is not proper for me to do so anyhow. It is obvious, as you have said, in Indonesia there has been this controversy and some measure of conflict over this issue.

Question: About Kashmir, some people have said that Mr. Eisenhower is

likely to intervene in these affairs, will India accept a settlement on the ceasefire line?

Prime Minister: That is a kind of question which I cannot answer. It is a hypothetical question.

Question: Will you comment on the reactions to your statement in Parliament about Nepal?

Prime Minister: Certainly. I think what the Prime Minister of Nepal, Mr. B.P. Koirala, has said is completely correct. The statement I made struck many people as perhaps a novel statement, but it was merely stating what the position has been for the last ten years. That is, I say ten years, you may say even more than ten. But I am saying ten years because there was a Treaty ten or nine years ago with Nepal.

That Treaty itself is the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal, 31st July 1950. Article 1, of the Treaty stated that "the two Governments agree to acknowledge mutually and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other". Article 2 "The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring state, likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations existing between the two Governments".

There is much else in the Treaty, but attached to the Treaty were letters that were exchanged on that very day, as is often done. In these letters apart from other matters, there is a paragraph: "Neither Government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat, the two Governments shall consult with each other and devise effective counter measures." This occurs in both the letters, the letter from Nepal to India and India to Nepal.

It is not a military alliance by any means but a mutual assurance between friendly countries. I had that in my mind. I was not aware, even, that I was making some novel statement and Mr. B.P. Koirala has correctly interpreted it. There is no question of India or any country taking unilateral action. That is absurd. It is a question of functioning as friendly countries and being helpful to each other in case of danger.

Question: The functioning of our External Publicity. I hope that if the treaty or this letter had been shown to us two or three days ago, much of the confusion would have gone.

Prime Minister: That may be so. Perhaps they were not quite sure if letters which at that time were confidential should be published. Perhaps our Ministry people thought so, but on rethinking, we thought the time had passed for them to be kept completely confidential.

Question: What is the period of the Treaty?

Prime Minister: I really forget, I do not think there is any period. I am not sure. Is Mr. Dutt (Foreign Secretary) here? Anybody from our Ministry here?

S. Dutt: For an indefinite period.

Prime Minister: Indefinite period.

Question: The question regarding our attitude to military aid to Pakistan from the United States in the context of the border situation with China. The United Press International in Delhi has put out a report of an interview with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Congress President, wherein they say "Pakistan and Bharat regard each other as enemies but now it is being fully realised that the American military assistance to Pakistan is meant to face the Communist danger." Further it says that "it is believed that in order to resist the Chinese threats, Bharat will ask for more economic assistance from the U.S.A. It is a more kindly attitude..."

Prime Minister: It is bad enough for me to have to answer for myself, but to have answer for others even though the other might be my daughter is more than I am prepared to undertake. (Applause) How do I know? I have no idea. I have not even seen the report, and sentences are sometimes taken out of the context or so many other things. I cannot explain it on her behalf.

Question: As the Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, Great Britain has suggested the merger of the Cambodian Commission with that for Vietnam? What is your reaction?²¹

Prime Minister: You mean having one Commission for the two countries? I cannot answer that specifically. So long as we keep within the terms of the Geneva Agreement, I suppose there should be no difficulty in some internal

21. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 596-597 and 599-600.

reorganisation. As it is, these Commissions have been reduced greatly—from the points of view of staff and numbers.

Question: In your introductory remarks, you referred to some other pre-occupations that would keep you busy during this month. What are those other pre-occupations?

Prime Minister: I thought you might have heard the whisper that President Eisenhower might be visiting India. (Applause)

Question: What about President Nasser's visit to India? Is there any likelihood of its postponement?²²

Prime Minister: He is coming certainly, I hope. But the date has not been finalized yet.

Question: Has any formal agenda been finalised for discussions with President Eisenhower?

Prime Minister: No. Certainly there is not going to be any agenda, formal or informal.

Question: But some clues to the agenda have already been indicated from Washington reports. How is it that we are very backward? (Applause)

Prime Minister: I do not know who has indicated it. In such matters, the newspapermen are very forward. That is all I can say.

Question: How is it that our Foreign Office has not been able to explain the McMahon Line in Washington? Is it our inability to explain, or their inability to understand? Because both Mr. Herter²³ and the U.S. President have said that there seems to be some dark spots or indefinable limits about this McMohan Line.

Prime Minister: May be, it is the fault of both, as you say.

22. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 577.

23. Christian Herter, US Secretary of State.

Question: Do you visualize the contents of the talks you are going to discuss with President Eisenhower? Would it be all China, or would it have anything to do with the summit, or any preliminaries to the summit?

Prime Minister: Last month I think I told you in connection with President Eisenhower's visit here, that when I went to Washington last, I had very long talks with President Eisenhower. There was no single issue between America and India at that time, or problems which had to be solved, but there were innumerable problems which interested us and which we discussed frankly, fully and in a friendly way. We were not trying to drive a bargain. We discussed the European situation, the international situation, the India-Pakistan situation and, I think, we discussed the Chinese situation, as it existed then. It was a frank talk, a tour d'horizon.²⁴ I take it on this occasion also we shall discuss a variety of topics, trying to understand each other. Take the Chinese border troubles. Naturally, in the nature of things, this being there, it will be discussed; not that we give it priority and importance as a matter to be discussed with President Eisenhower. By and large—I am talking of my own impression—the most important things for me to talk about with President Eisenhower are international developments. That is, the lead he is giving in finding some way out of these tangles. That affects so many other questions in the world. I attach importance to that. Naturally we will discuss our local problems, difficulties. I remember, the President was greatly interested, last time when I saw him, in our planning and I think I spoke to him at some length about it. These are subjects which come up.

Question: India and Burma were one country when the McMahon Line was drawn up. Is it that we are thinking of having joint responsibility for defending the McMahon Line or individual responsibility now?

Prime Minister: How can it be? Burma is an independent country. So is India. We may have sympathy, we may have friendly feelings.

Question: You have already indicated your interest in the international aspect of the problems. Is it likely that you might be in Europe about the time when the issues get nearer to decisions or solutions?

Prime Minister: I think it is very unlikely.

24. See SWJN/SS/54/ p. 218.

Question: There was one report in one paper that you have written to some of your friends in London...

Prime Minister: That is quite wrong. I am surprised to see that report. The only thing I wrote was the possibility of a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference next summer. That possibility has been talked about but no date has been fixed. There was no other reference. I have no information about this meeting in April at all. In fact, I doubt very much if it will be in April.

Question: In the official programme for President Eisenhower that was announced, there is little time allotted for talks. Do we take it that you will be moving with him always during his stay in Delhi?

Prime Minister: Surely one does not talk when one is going in a car to a function. There is not much room for talk.

Question: As the President is not meeting the press, can I suggest that after his visit you meet the press?

Prime Minister: It is not for me to decide. That is for him to decide or his advisers.

Question: Dealing with subversive activities, this Chinese expansionism is a long-term affair.

Prime Minister: Subversive elements, is quite another thing and a State's general expansionist outlook is quite a different thing. The two may fit in sometimes.

Question: Will you comment on the resolution of the Meerut Conference of the C.P.I.?²⁵

Prime Minister: I have not got it in mind but, broadly speaking, I did not think it was a very bright resolution. (Applause)

Question: May I come back to the international problem? In the view of some statesmen in the West it would be better in the forthcoming Summit Conference not to discuss the question of German unity as a major topic

25. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 31.

but first try to get some understanding on the disarmament problem. Is it your view also?

Prime Minister: It is not really for me to express an opinion on these matters. Disarmament is obviously of the highest importance and it is bound to be discussed, whatever else may or may not be. Now, entirely between ourselves, I have been greatly intrigued about the question of Germany unity. So much is talked about it and so far as I have been able to understand nobody wants it. I just cannot make out this. Nobody, America, England, France, Western Germany, Eastern Germany, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, nobody wants it. I cannot understand all that. What am I to say about this? It is no concern to me at all. When I say nobody wants it I am not referring it to the distant future. I am talking about the immediate present.²⁶

Question: Do you think it is a serious or unfortunate development that no one wants it?

Prime Minister: No. I suppose it is a recognition of certain basic facts of today, in that sense I meant. In theory, of course, people want it. Ideally, they may want it. But the recognition of certain facts and fear of certain consequences makes people not want it. When I say 'not want it', it obviously means everybody wants a solution on his own lines, hundred percent. "Realising that it won't come on one's own line, therefore, we do not want that solution". It comes to that.

Question: Sir, can we come to the question of Bombay?

Prime Minister: Of course.

Question: Sir. Mr. S.M. Joshi,²⁷ at his meeting yesterday, is reported to have suggested that the leaders of the three major parties: the Congress, the Communist Party and the P.S.P. should sit together and evolve and give an award as to what should be the principles on which the frontiers of Maharashtra should be bifurcated and that every Party should abide by it. What is your reaction?

26. See item 122.

27. General Secretary, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.

Prime Minister: I have not seen that. I do not think that it is a feasible proposition at all. One may confer, and it has been our wish to have the largest measure of agreement about this and, therefore, we have been proceeding very cautiously and without any formal governmental steps being taken because the moment you start taking formal steps you get entangled in formalities and flexibility becomes lacking. Therefore, we kept on an informal basis and we have made good progress. But that type of matter of this kind, parties as such sitting down, is not dear to me. I can understand when the matter comes up before the Parliament, the leaders of different parties conferring together not to lay down some principles but to make suggestions. The matter is naturally too important for the Government to ignore opinions, and also for the Government not to accept full responsibility.

Question: May I ask you one question about the capital of Gujarat? Are you going to repeat the disastrous experiment of having new capitals like Chandigarh and Bhubaneshwar or just extend....?

Prime Minister: I have no views on that subject nor have we thought about it. What I want to tell you is about some minor matter and I want to square it up. There is a report in the newspapers that the Government are taking a census of the Chinese in Calcutta. This is not correct. No census is being taken or has been ordered. Under the Foreigners' Act Registration Rules, a foreigner who has been living in India since August 1943 was not required to take out a Residential Permit. In fact, the number of registered Chinese in Calcutta is about 11,000 although the Chinese population is supposed to be nearer 30,000.

We had a good deal of trouble in Calcutta between groups of Chinese inter-se and law and order problems arise. It is because of this that it has been decided that all foreigners living in India, whether they are Chinese or belonging to any other nationality, should be called upon to take Residential Permits, so that in case of any incident persons concerned may be easily identified and the order will not merely apply to the Chinese but to other foreigners also.

Now, a difficulty has arisen in Calcutta. There are quite a large number of Chinese on our electoral rolls functioning as Indian nationals. But it is by no means clear that they are Indian nationals, that is to say, in other ways, they function as Chinese nationals. So we want to clarify this position.²⁸

Question: What about Commonwealth citizens?

28. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 531.

Prime Minister: About your question of Commonwealth citizens I am not clear myself. I am sorry, I shall have to find out. Of course, the Commonwealth people come to India without visas and all that; and the other things also apply. So possibly it may be that. Mr. Dutt, can you enlighten us, or Mr. Desai or somebody?

S. Dutt: They are not required to be registered nor are they required to take out Residential Permits—the Commonwealth citizens.

Question: So far as the Chinese nationals in India are concerned, unless they renounce Chinese nationality and apply for Indian nationality, there can be no question of their becoming Indian citizens.

Prime Minister: Yes, these are the procedural parts, I suppose.

Question: I think it is not quite clear what you mean—in many ways they function as Chinese nationals, although they vote as Indians. Could you clarify that?

Prime Minister: I could not specify all these things. But I have been informed that in their normal public activities and the rest, they function as Chinese nationals. Mind you, quite a number of them function as the Chinese nationals of the Formosa variety, others of the other type, so that all these difficulties arise.

Question: Sir, in one of the Party Executive meetings, you are reported to have observed that the Swatantra Party has bagged one very important daily paper in South India. Is it true you made some observation like that?

Prime Minister: I did, but I did not use that word which you have used. I said that it is my information that a lot of financial help has come to a leading paper in the South from leading members of the Swatantra Party.²⁹

Question: May I correct this?

29. The paper referred to was *The Hindu*. G Narasimhan, Managing Director of Kasturi and Sons Ltd. issued the following denial: "The reference to a newspaper in the South is to *The Hindu*. It is not true that financial help is being given to a leading paper by leading members of the Swatantra Party." See *National Herald*, 6 December 1959.

Prime Minister: As debentures?

Question: Not individuals, the Central Bank of India has underwritten certain debentures, which the company which has now been converted into a public limited company, proposes to float and that sanction has not been given by your Government. It is still pending in your Government—this conversion from a private company to a public limited company, and the Bank has underwritten, therefore there is no question of individuals coming in at all.

Prime Minister: I think that is a rather vague statement. If one went into details, individuals to come in; so my information goes. But I am perfectly prepared to correct my information if I receive more authentic news. (Applause)

Question: A private company cannot have public debentures unless it issues equity capital to the public. That is the law in this country.

Question: The Directors of the Central Bank are all leading members of the Swatantra Party.

Question: I am afraid it is not proper to discuss one paper like this in a Press Conference.

Prime Minister: Very improper, I quite agree with you. (Applause)

Question: What is the time limit for receiving this Residential Permit?

Prime Minister: I am sorry I could not tell you. I have to go back repeatedly to my colleagues. Any time limit for this (pointing to Shri Dutt)?

Dutt: I believe about a month. But I am not sure.

Prime Minister: He is not sure himself.

Question: There has been some talk by some Congress leaders about the desirability of banning the Communist Party. I have heard some speeches in which...

Prime Minister: I do not think any important Congressman has said it. There has been that talk.

Question: What are your views?

Prime Minister: The question is that there has been some talk about banning the Communist Party and what is my reaction. I am constitutionally opposed to this business of banning parties or groups, unless circumstances become terribly abnormal, then one does not know. There is no thinking on the part of Government to do so.

Question: Do you think the circumstances have not yet become terribly normal in relation to the Communist Party?

Prime Minister: No. Obviously, if I think it is not necessary, I think so.

Question: In Assam recently, near the border area, the Congress candidate has lost his seat and a Communist has been elected.³⁰

Prime Minister: I do not know. I was told this is a defeat for the Congress, and this must be recognized—I was told that the election was run largely on caste lines and the Communist Party had put up a representative representing the major caste in that area. I am prepared to accept that is not a complete explanation.

Question: There have been reports that factions in the Assam Congress worked against the Congress candidate.

Prime Minister: May be possible.

Question: Have you heard anything about the American Consulate incident in Bombay?³¹

Prime Minister: I understand that the American Consulate has put in a formal police complaint. The Chinese Embassy here have not put in exactly a police complaint but nevertheless a complaint in our Foreign Office. So the matter is in the hands of the Bombay Police and they are inquiring into it.

Question: Has the Government got any more information or reports?

30. Devakanta Barooah of the Congress lost to Communist candidate, Phoni Bora from Nowgong constituency in the Assam by-election. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2 December 1959.

31. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 550-555.

Prime Minister: Nothing more than that, nothing more than what has appeared in the Press.

Question: Is this the only incident in which a Chinese Consulate or Embassy was involved as against citizens of other countries or including India?

Prime Minister: How can I tell you, might or might not have happened all over the world. This is the only incident of its kind in India certainly. I do not know about other countries.

Question: There have been reports that some Indian photographer was molested by the Chinese Consulate people in Bombay and some other chap was pushed, an Indian, and that kind of thing?

Prime Minister: I do not know that. I suppose the photographers themselves do a good bit of pushing about. (Applause) There was another incident, rather trivial, in Bombay again, some messenger going to send some telegram or to get some letters, I forget what it was, being accosted by two strangers. That matter too has apparently ended there. There is no further story about it, no further information, no proof of it.

Question: Would you like to comment on the unrest in the universities in the several areas. Do you think whether there are any social factors contributing to a phase of unrest among students and others in the recent months?

Prime Minister: That is a difficult question to answer. It has been discussed in public, referred to so often. One part of it I would say is almost worldwide, this unrest in the mind of youths, and sometimes a deliberate refusal to follow old standards. Of course, conditions here are different from conditions in prosperous countries. Then there are these economic pushes, and thirdly, owing to the rapid expansion of education, there has been a tendency—the standards of some have gone down, thinned out; too many people in classes and individual attention cannot be given to them. In some places it is just like some kind of an organised factory for turning out graduates. So all this ignores certain vital elements in education. Then the classes, the type of persons who are coming in ever larger numbers to our universities and colleges are such as those whose parents or grandparents never went to a school, which, of course, is a good thing and must go on increasing. But, all these factors and many others tend to produce this kind of, call it unrest, call it a kind of no positive urge in the students

working for something definite and just excitements of the moment. All these petty things, holding up railway trains, stopping them by pulling the chain and constant or frequent trouble with cinema houses because they seem to think that a student should go free to a cinema, why should he pay and if the proprietor or the manager objects, there is trouble. It is very unfortunate.

Question: In the case of stopping of this train near Delhi which has been recurring, I do not know the facts, etc., but I have seen in the papers, it seems to me that the railways are at fault. They should provide a service for particular persons.

Prime Minister: I know. That was my reaction too. Why don't they provide that service? I was told that it was physically difficult for two or three months because something was happening to the line. But a service could be provided by road. I believe something has been done about that.

Question: They stopped the train to eat singharas.

Prime Minister: Stop the train to eat singharas, water chestnuts, they found good water chestnuts in a lake nearby. You see to some extent this kind of fun and frolic is not bad but of course if it goes beyond that extent, it becomes very bad. It becomes a public nuisance.

Question: This interesting Karnal Murder Case in the Punjab.³² It gives an impression that there might be absolute one-man rule behind a facade of democracy. What are your comments?

Prime Minister: We just had quite a speech. (Applause) I am sorry to confess that apart from looking at the headlines, I have not read a word about this case. First of all, murders do not interest me. Secondly, I have no time to read these long accounts. But I shall tell you this: that in this matter particularly, but on one or two previous occasions I was put out at what I had heard about certain irregular activities of the police in Punjab. I had drawn the Punjab Government's, the Chief Minister's attention to it. The Punjab Police force is a good force. But, in the old days, I mean to say twenty or thirty years ago, the Punjab was a somewhat different province from other provinces in India, legally, what is called 'non-regulation' or some such word was used. I do not remember the

32. See items 23 to 25.

exact word. Yes. Regulation. Both the civil service and the police force in the Punjab were different somewhat from the rest of India. I am talking about the British times, not now. Both of them were used to rougher ways than other parts of the country, and I drew the attention of the Punjab Government that this kind of thing should not be permitted.

Question: But, Sir, here the Punjab Police has complained against the Punjab Premier, that they were made to do certain things.

Prime Minister: I am not going to discuss this particular case. Partly, it would anyhow be improper because I do not know anything about this case. But, there were grave complaints against the police of taking the law into their own hands.

Question: You have said that you have not read the report in detail. Would you kindly read it, because the Judge has passed strictures on the question of the method of administration, causing grave disquiet to everybody, the way in which the highest officials from the I.G. of Police to the lowest, including the Magistracy, can tell things which are not true in courts?

Prime Minister: No doubt, our Home Ministry will read it carefully. I am sorry but I think I can employ my time a little better.

Question: Have you any comments to make on the Tyagi Committee Report on tax administration?³³

Prime Minister: My dear sir, I do not go about reading every report that is being presented. How can I comment on that when I have not read it? As I have not read the report, I cannot say anything on it. But any steps to expose the habitual tax-evaders would be good. I think we must end this now.

Thank you.

33 The Tyagi Committee on the Administration of Direct Taxes set up in June 1958, submitted its report on 25 November 1959. It recommended that tax evasion be made a punishable offence.

[Skeletons in the Cupboard]



**TYAGI COMMITTEE HAS CALLED FOR AN
AMENDMENT OF THE INCOME-TAX LAW.**

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 6 DECEMBER 1959)

(c) Interview

3. To the Columbia Broadcasting System³⁴

Mr. Novins: The problems which were discussed here in India by President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru did not magically disappear as a result of those talks. They still confront India and meeting those problems is a responsibility of the Prime Minister who has very graciously agreed to discuss them with us.

Mr. Prime Minister, we are very, very grateful to you for your kindness in offering us the use of your home for this interview.

If you are ready let's take this first question from Mr. Potter.

Question: President Eisenhower's visit here seems to have strengthened the bonds between the world's two largest democracies. Is India moving toward closer orientation with the free world?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Potter, there is no doubt that President Eisenhower's visit here has been for all of us, and I imagine for the President also, a moving experience. That kind of thing creates deeper bonds than, well, any kind of thing you might put down on paper, more specially when matters of people are concerned. They don't look to books and papers. They have an impact on an individual or a country of the event. We have had that.

Undoubtedly, that means a closer understanding and appreciation of the Indian masses of President Eisenhower and, broadly, America.

When you talk about the free world I don't know quite what you mean by it. Would you consider the meaning of the free world or outside...

Question: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I can't have [...] can I?

34. For 'Face the Nation' Programme of CBS, Washington. The interview was recorded on 15 December 1959 at Nehru's residence in New Delhi and broadcast on 20 December 1959. Nehru was interviewed by A.T. Steale, Philip Potter and Daniel Schorr of the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Baltimore Sun* and *C.B.S.* respectively. Owing to a video tape technical failure, approximately the first five minutes of this interview were not broadcast on television.

Question: I will put the question in a different way.

Looking back now with some sense of perspective on President Eisenhower's visit here what change of attitude, if not policy, would you say it has brought about?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I am just in a sense trying to say something about that. First of all, please remember that we have not at any time had any major problems between India and the United States. Neither of us came in the other's way directly, you might say. We have had some differences of opinion about other matters, some did affect us somewhat indirectly, so that there is no conflict, basic conflict between us and the United States in spite of differences here and there about some aspects of world affairs.

I believe that recent developments, quite apart from the President's visit here, have brought us nearer to each other. That is, the movement has been on both sides, if I may say so, and that is a big thing because to affect mass opinion is more important than some top level agreements, or not. The agreements come in a democratic society anyway and are conditioned by large scale opinion.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, in your talk in the Ramlila Grounds the other day you said that the crowd was the largest that had ever attended a function on those Grounds.³⁵ We have been tremendously impressed by the enormous outpouring of good will in India during the President's visit. What is that reason for that outpouring of good will?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I imagine that at any time when the President would have come here he would have had a rousing welcome, a big welcome. I think it is true that in the present context it was a bigger welcome, still that is true.

It is rather difficult to analyse popular reasons for these kind of things. One reads about a leading personality and he becomes a familiar figure in one's mind and almost there is a kind of bond between them, people reading, seeing pictures and all that, as you should know, especially when a person represents a great country like the United States which has so much to do with world policy and all that. But I have no doubt that the immediate President—one important factor in the public mind was that President Eisenhower was, if I may use the phrase, on a pilgrimage of peace wherever he went and he went all out to find a settlement of some of the difficult problems that have troubled us.

35. See item 184.

Question: You referred, Sir, to the present context and to the present conditions. I wonder if you could be more specific. I suppose by present conditions you mean the dispute which you are having with Communist China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I don't think that was a major factor although that may have been an influencing factor. I think the fact that the President in the last many months has stood out for peace, for a settlement, chiefly in Europe but really in the world, has really affected popular opinion a great deal. Our trouble on our borders with China may be also a conditioning factor. I suppose, to some extent, it was.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, you speak of the pilgrimage of peace as if it were almost a new policy or new attitude of the United States. This has been the traditional policy, the traditional attitude. I wonder what you see that is different about this that didn't apply, say, six months ago or a year ago?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Don't you think that even the basic policy—the policy of peace, broadly speaking, is certainly a policy of the United States all along but the expression of it, the implementation of it may differ, the emphasis may differ. The emphasis let us say, because of a certain set of circumstances of the cold war. It may be justified or not, that is a different matter.

Then, the second emphasis to the cold war is a—you see, while peace is thought of all the time, the emphasis has changed in regard to this basic aspect of the cold war and the relationship with countries with which you do not agree.

Question: What has been the point, sort of the turning point, when you first became conscious of this change of attitude?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult to pinpoint it but—to give an exact timing for it but, roughly speaking, in the last year or so. That is, it doesn't mean—of course, there are other factors, too. For instance, the Prime Minister of England has also, from his position, laid stress on any visit to the Soviet Union. All these, step by step, developed into a new situation although the basic factors were the same and Mr. Khrushchev also asked you in recent months or more, in his visit to the United States and all that, has led undoubtedly to the relaxation of the old conditions.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, you say there has been a change in emphasis

in our policy. Has there not been a change in emphasis in your policy? You are now moving military forces, to some extent, up toward a border that you formerly left to police control?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not conscious of any change in my policy. A new situation has arisen which I have to meet. In fact, as I have said publicly in Parliament here, we thought of our border situation nearly ten—nearly nine years ago. That is when we gradually became conscious of the fact that our border, which had been more or less a dead border, became a live border. We didn't move troops because—but we thought of it and in these years we have been setting up check posts there, check posts not for military but it is simply to prevent other people we don't like coming in or other people just coming across and setting down in the country. We have been doing that in the last several years not because we were expecting any invasion or anything like that but, nevertheless, it was a live frontier, whatever that might be, one takes care of a live frontier and as the situation has been developing we have built roads and communication, partly, of course, to develop our own areas, partly to be near the frontier which has been out off from us.

Question: Did you ever anticipate it would have developed as fast as it did develop, that the Chinese would be bringing the pressure there that they are bringing against India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I didn't expect it that fast. I suppose it was expedited also by the events in Tibet, the revolt in Tibet. That rather brought about a certain speed in the events on our borders because the revolt was being crushed by the Chinese forces and they naturally came to our borders where the fighting was on the other side. Tibetan refugees were coming in, they wanted to stop them, so they came to our borders and somewhat new situation arose for us in the last few months.

Question: What would you say, Sir, is the basic reason that impels China to put this pressure on India? What is there in China, do you think?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that is a difficult question to answer. I am not myself sure that this was very deliberate on their part. It was rather a succession of events which brought this conflict about. That is to say, there may be a deliberate idea in their minds, not now but for sometime past that certain areas which we think are ours belong to them. That is so because they have said so, they have stated that. How they intended getting them I don't know. What I have said is

let's have peaceful talk about it.

But when you add it all to this, the fact that during the Tibetan rebellion we continued to face each other on our borders, a new situation was created.

Question: But you have said in Parliament, and I was present to hear you that this is not just a border problem, this is a question of a long time crisis with China and the broader question of this crisis that you face with China over a period of time. What do you think impels China to create this crisis with India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I can't answer that but from our point of view it is obviously something far more than a border problem. Quite apart from any further incursions into our territory the fact that two major countries are suddenly face to face with a live and contentious border creates a new situation.

Suppose, let us hope, that some kind of agreement is arrived at and...

Question: I am sorry, I am still more interested in what you said in Parliament than what you are saying now because you put it in a much broader perspective. You spoke of a long-term crisis with China. Now, you appear to come back continually to the momentary border problem.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I was going to come to that.

Question: I am sorry.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You see, quite apart from that border problem, I say the major fact is that India and China are across a live and contentious border. Suppose the border problem is settled. Even so, too—well, let us hope, let us presume, this is [...] 2600 miles. Now, either they can be very friendly to each other or hostile or, well, in between neutral and whatever that might be. That huge border remains and then that is a fact of, in both countries and more specially in China, an explosive situation by the population becoming bigger and bigger. You see, all these factors bring about difficulties and conflicts regardless of what the government is thinking or not.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, you said that you are willing to discuss minor rectifications in the border but that you don't propose to give away any large chunks of territory. Does that mean there is no room for compromise in an area like [...] where the Chinese have moved in over a tremendous area?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, you know, in our last letter to Premier Chou En-lai was put forward a very reasonable proposal, that they should withdraw and we should withdraw from the area which either according to them or according to us is wrongfully occupied. It is true that would have meant a great deal of withdrawal by them and a small withdrawal by us. Still, it was a fair thing to say. That, of course, was a temporary thing, an interim arrangement.

We can't leave an area as vacant or no man's land although it is true that in that area very, very few people live. There hardly—some shepherds came there and move away in the summer, some tiny hamlets, very small. But, you see, it is difficult, and I did not want at any time to take up an attitude of not thinking to an opponent or an adversary, that is, unless at least one is heard.

As Mr. Gandhi said, we are always prepared, even when we felt very badly about what the British were doing, we were always prepared to talk to them. And so, we are always prepared to do that with one reservation that one thinks at that moment if the talk is held at the wrong time it will produce wrong results. One has to see the vibrant context.

That is why I said that, if these things would have been done and an atmosphere is created where one can talk, when one talks it is very difficult to lay down previous conditions this is the talk and not that. I say one can't.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, you have left the impression, and if it is wrong I hope you will correct me, but both in your speech in the Upper House [...] and now in your comment, the impression was left that you expected a long period of tension to some degree or another over the border which is, as you say, 2600 miles. Now, even if you should reach through negotiation a temporary solution on the present areas of conflict, what do you expect in the long range? Will there be a continuation of incursions, will there be penetrations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I don't expect incursions, that kind of thing, if some agreement was arrived at but in the nature of things, regardless of agreements, I plan to find out for the first time in history, in Asia, India and China face each other as neighbours over a long frontier and presuming a certain measure of good will on both sides, even then tension, some pressure of tension will be there under the circumstances unless the whole world changes. Then, presuming a lack of good will, then, of course it is not anything in the nature of large scale aggression that I would expect then but merely there will be the problems of the border all the same.

Question: Do you see any evidence of any desire on the part of China to

negotiate on the peaceful terms that you are suggesting?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. I must accept Mr. Chou En-lai's word. He says he wants to do so and he has offered to meet me.³⁶

Question: Is there a time table on that, Sir? Will you be meeting with him soon?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You see, he offered to meet me very soon, almost immediately, he said. To that I sent him an answer. Now, its three and a half weeks ago. Certain steps are to be taken to avoid conflicts in the border. I suggested other steps, what I thought were much better and I said then we should discuss where to meet and when to meet. So I have not had an answer to that.

Question: Are you basing your policy, Sir, on the expectation of Chinese good will in the months and years to come or the expectation of tension with China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, in some cases one always desires good will and places—and adopts a policy which keeps the lack of good will also under consideration.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, haven't you in recent talks with the newsmen said that your study of Chinese history showed you that China was always imperialistic when strong and have you not said that it is therefore normal that they should exert pressure on the border?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did say something like that though quite not so forcefully.

Question: As a matter of fact, wasn't that the word you used, imperialism?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, certainly it is imperialism, of course. After all, as I said somewhere, the present Chinese state was not born out of Jupiter's head like Minerva. It has grown. It has grown by conquest hundreds of years ago, and thousands of years ago. It has expanded, you might say.

If you go back to [...] history, Indian empires controlled a large bit of Central Asia and of Pakistan. Suppose I say three hundred years ago Pakistan was part of India. It was. That kind of thing is not reasonable.

36. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 663-666.

But it is true, it is my belief that China has expanded, as other countries, strong countries have expanded, with a belief that China was the middle kingdom, the periphery of other nations were of a lesser breed and they were taking the virtues of civilization there.

Incidentally, I think it is exactly like the European nations, taking civilization to countries of Asia in later years.

Question: You mean, Sir, that this expansion in China is traditional, historic? You don't connect it in any way with the presence of a Communist regime there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I don't think so at all; I think it is traditional, typically Chinese, encouraged—the urge made stronger by two factors. One is, of course, their growing strength. When you are weak, you can't indulge in it, and communism also helps in the process but I think it is more Chinese than Communistic.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, do you still feel that the admission of China to the United Nations would facilitate a settlement of this problem?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know. If we settle it, we will settle it ourselves but I have no doubt still that China's admission is a right thing from every point of view—if not “every”, from most points of view.

Apparently it is the right thing and I don't see how you can deal with China on the world stage by not recognizing it, not allowing it there, and then expect it to behave. You have got no grip.

Question: It has been suggested by a great many people, including many of the United States, Mr. Prime Minister, who object to the entry of China into the U.N. on the grounds that they will be shooting their way in. I think that is the phrase that is commonly used. Is there some way, do you suppose, that this could be arranged that the attack could not be made that Communist China was shooting its way into the U.N.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What do you mean by “shooting its way in”?

Question: Well, I think the criticism is that after Korea and because of the aggressions in Tibet and so forth that the entry of China into the United Nations would be, in effect, a regard for aggression. How would you meet that criticism?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know how to meet that criticism but the major fact being, as I think it is, that the United Nations lacks universality if you keep one or several countries outside it. The whole basis of the United Nations is that, and take any question, take disarmament. Now, it is patent that if there is an agreement for disarmament in all countries but not in China, well, it will not be a very satisfactory state of affairs the moment you get going that way.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, you have indicated that there has not been any great change in your policy or attitude which I suppose refers especially to coexistence and not alignment, and yet you have said that China is expansionist traditionally, if not necessarily because of its Communist regime. If China is expansionist and India remains not aligned, how do you propose to contain Chinese expansionism? Can India alone do it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, there are a number of answers to that. First of all, as the world is today, any major war is likely to become a world war, if you think in terms of wars, which of course, we would like to avoid at almost any cost, not the cost of handing over our country to somebody else, at almost any cost.

Secondly, I don't think that these so-called military alliances make the slightest difference to anybody. What makes a difference is what the sympathy of—it doesn't make the slightest difference what some of the small countries attached to the United States or the Soviet Union think of the situation. If there is big scale aggression there is world war. The small country doesn't count then in the world war either from the military point of view or political or any other. It is only just giving some kind of external satisfaction, may be possibly—I don't see how the—in fact, the argument is that by increasing tensions it adds to the probability of war, which one wants to prevent.

It doesn't—I don't wish to mention names of countries but obviously from the military point of view it is the United States that counts on the one side, certainly the European countries, England [...] but in an argument with other countries they do not count at all [...]

Question: Do I understand you correctly, Sir, do you think that if there were a war, no one hopes there will but if there were a war fought between China and India arising from some border dispute you do not believe that such a war could be localized, you think it would spread into a world war?"

Jawaharlal Nehru: If it is a war, not some incident at the border, I think it is going to be a long drawn out affair because it is patent to me certainly we don't expect to go about conquering China and I don't think however strong China

may be it will succeed in conquering India. So that apart from temporary successes, the war would go on injuring tremendously both countries and, in the state of affairs that exist in the world today, it can't be limited. Of course, anything may happen and could in the world. In that sense I meant it.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, you said that Russia is moving out of the first violent stage of its revolution into a moderate one with emphasis on technology which seems to be drawing it closer to the United States, whereas China is in the first aggressive stage of its revolution. What stage of revolution, if any, is India in, and I am thinking in economic terms, as well as political.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, India's background has been so different that because of its peaceful methods and all that, it was never in that violent, aggressive stage which requires time to settle down, to tone down. It didn't require that at all. It was a peaceful transition which has its advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are obvious, we prevent conflict and we didn't [...] on the good will and carry on. The disadvantages are that a peaceful change over doesn't create that powerful urge for doing things. People take things for granted.

Now, in a violent revolution something new is created, at great and terrible cost. It is an urge and they do things. Just to survive they do things. If they didn't, they wouldn't survive. If you survive too easily you become complacent.

Question: Do you feel, Sir, that this challenge from China on your border can be channelled into creating that urge that you speak of?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In India?

Question: In India, yes, sir.

Jawaharlal Nehru: To some extent, to some extent. It depends on developments and circumstances. Naturally, we are concerned with as rapid as possible development of our country economically because that is the thing really which gives strength and a measure of prosperity. There are so many factors that go to build up these urges and things.

Question: You have said, Mr. Prime Minister, that Marxism and Capitalism are outdated. Where then is the world heading?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, may I explain what I said? When you talk about

Capitalism, what do you talk about? The Capitalism that Marx dealt with in his book? That doesn't exist anywhere; practically speaking it is mid-nineteenth century, in fact. The capitalism in the early years of the 19th century that is the theory it was based on, that has no meaning today. Capitalism has changed tremendously.

I was reading a speech by an eminent American Professor today where he said that, "you," meaning Indians, "say that you are Socialist. America, in actual practice, is twice as Socialist as you are". It is perfectly true, I think. This was an M.I.T. professor who said that.³⁷

Question: Is it our type of Socialism that you look for India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, but what he meant there, of course, was state controls, the fact that in a country which is so tremendously in favour of private enterprise, facts and circumstances have driven it to state controls in spite of its inner urges. There is a good deal of state control although it hasn't lost its private enterprise, of course not. So things are changing. Capitalism of fifty years ago is also completely out of date.

As for Marxism, Marxism was based as the opposition to the early 19th century Capitalism. It is said, how far it is true I don't know, that before Marx died he found that some of his theories had proved false by subsequent developments, he was greatly disappointed and he didn't finish his book because of that. Well, I don't know.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, these current tensions along the Chinese border and also the problems that you have with Pakistan, what effect do they have on your plans for the economic development of India? Have you had to divert any of your funds and attention from the economic development?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have had both effects, good and bad. The bad effects, of course, are certain diversion of money to purposes which we would not consider urgent otherwise. The good effect is that it forces our peace a little, it provides an urge to do it more quickly, which is a very important thing.

Question: When President Eisenhower was here, Sir, did you discuss the possibility of speeding up whatever United States assistance might be forthcoming that you might receive?

37. See item 1.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, as a matter of fact, I didn't discuss that as such because it was an admitted factor that we should speed up. It is not a matter for argument, everybody agrees to that.

Question: You took certain exception when you were quoted as having discussed increased American aid with President Eisenhower. Now, you said that you would not be so crude as to raise the question of increased American aid.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course.

Question: I take it your objection was to the way the thing had been described. I imagine you would indeed have discussed your economic program in which the United States does participate?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What actually happened, we did discuss rather briefly our planning in that, very briefly simply because there is nothing much to discuss about it. I mean, it was admitted we should do it and I was not going to discuss the details of planning.

I didn't—I thought it would be improper for me, as our guest, to ask him to give us this and give us that. I said it was crude and improper. He knew how we stood, what our feelings were about it, and it is for other parts of his government and our government to deal with that matter, not for me to worry him with and demand an answer from him.

Question: If this isn't too indiscreet a question, Sir, what were the subjects that commanded most of your interest in your discussions with President Eisenhower?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well...

Question: What did you find most profitable to talk about?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have to talk very warily now.

Question: Yes, and I think you should—I am referring only to subject, not to content.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I must'nt go too far in one direction or the other.

Well, the President, first of all, told me of his visits to various countries he

visited before coming here and his hopeful outlook as a result of this visit about peace—and settlements in spite of the many difficulties that he foresaw. We discussed—really, the range of our subjects was very wide and comprehensive, problems of Europe, problems of Asia, problems of Africa, even a hint now and there of South America. We really covered the world in our talks but principally, certainly, it was the problems of Asia and Europe, Europe in the sense of the big problems, Summit and all that.

Question: Yes, the Summit must have figured very importantly. Are you encouraged now, after talking to the President, or more encouraged than you were about the prospect for the Summit Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: On the whole, yes. Of course I expected the Summit anyhow.

Question: No, I don't mean the prospect for holding one but the prospect of something being arrived at the Summit Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think so because—I will tell you why, I am convinced that, naturally, President Eisenhower wants to get results out of the Summit. I am equally convinced that Mr. Khrushchev wants them. I have no doubt about that. Now, it may be that in spite of wanting results, both, there is a gap between the two, that is a possibility, but the desire of both sides is strong and that is a major factor.

Question: You mentioned that you spoke to the President about Asia as well as Europe in connection with the Summit. Would you be very surprised if the President brought up your border dispute with China at the Summit Conference with Khrushchev.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It's hardly a subject to be brought up in Summit Conference. He might, I don't know, privately in talking to him, mention it, but it is not a Summit Conference subject.

Question: In that connection, Mr. Prime Minister, have you had any communications from the Russians with respect to this dispute other than the statements that have appeared in Tass?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, we have had two kinds of communications, neither directly dealing with it. One is entirely outside that, but there were other subjects indicating their great desire for our progress and friendship and all that which

is a kind of background about this border dispute, even in relatively private communications, as he had said in public, that he wants this settled and he wants this should happen between two countries which are friendly to him. He just repeated that.

Question: Did you suggest to Mr. Eisenhower that you believe that India should participate in the Summit talks?³⁸

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I did not suggest it. I wouldn't suggest it anyhow.

Question: Do you believe that...

Jawaharlal Nehru: If I may say so, I don't particularly wish it either at this state. It confuses the issue at this stage. Maybe at a later stage it may be vital, that is a different matter, but at this stage it is best for the four participants to meet themselves.

Question: Then you anticipate there will be a continuation of these Summit meetings?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I anticipate—at least I hope for a succession of them. I accept what Mr. Macmillan said somewhere, I think, that you must go with the intention of meeting repeatedly and not laying emphasis on either coming to an agreement or breaking. That is a wrong approach to it. You realize that we have to meet again if we don't. It is a better approach. It doesn't lead to sudden depression all around because you are not doing anything and the problems are so difficult that it requires many meetings, really [...]

Question: Does it seem rather paradoxical that India should be diverting some of its economic funds to prove its military (strength) at a time the Summit is dealing or trying to deal with the problem of disarmament?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is sad but, as a matter of fact, as we see it at present, even from the defense point of view, we attach more importance to the industrial growth than just to people and guns moving about. That fundamentally gives

38. The Western Summit was held from 19 to 21 December 1959 in Paris, during which Eisenhower, Macmillan, De Gaulle and Adenauer invited Khrushchev for the East-West Summit scheduled for April 1960 in Paris. See *National Herald*, 22 December 1959.

strength to a nation, industrial development. So that in effect both our normal urges, as well as the present defense urges, load us to industrialization which is a common factor in both.

Question: You suggested, Sir, to the Parliament that you didn't have to make the choice of guns or butter until you had something that could produce either guns or butter?³⁹

Jawaharlal Nehru: That's right.

Question: How soon do you expect that you will be able to feel you have arrived at a state of technological development or industrial development where you really will be satisfied?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, where do you draw the line? We use words like "take off period", and all that. Our take off period does not mean that we are prosperous but that we have developed sufficient economic strength to stand on our own feet and develop.

Question: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: After that it is a step by step, we get better and more prosperous. So far as this take off period is concerned, broadly we think of it ten years from now. We are in the period. I mean the end of the take off period, the full accomplishment of that. We are actually taking off in bits now but roughly in about ten years, it may be shortened to seven or something like that, or three years, it depends on...

Question: In that connection I wonder if you can tell us what kind of assistance that you have had from the United States, for example, has proved most useful to you.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, in a sense probably the most useful to us has been the help which has come to us from what is the [...] That has helped us greatly.

Question: That is the agricultural surpluses?

39. Nehru made this remark on 8 December 1959 in the Rajya Sabha. See item 156.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. In dealing with the—what is it—keeping down prices here, inflation and all that, which has been very important.

Question: But that doesn't help you build toward something else?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, it doesn't, but it creates an atmosphere, it relaxes the tensions we suffer from. You see, every country which is building up inevitably suffers from inflation. A little inflation is not bad, it is good for it, but the moment it goes beyond that little it becomes a very difficult job.

Question: Mr. Nehru, the President seems to suggest in his talk here that private investment from America ought to play a larger role in helping India get the capital it needs. [...] all you could do to encourage and stimulate it. Was that welcomed by you? Do you feel that it should play a larger role?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, yes, certainly, it is welcomed by us. Undoubtedly.

Naturally, when we plan, as we must, that is with limited resources, we have to plan that those resources are used in the best possible manner. So we plan, the Second Five Year Plan, a five year plan, and having done so, we don't want resources used for, well, let us say, if I am convinced we are getting 10,000 cinema houses, I don't mind cinema houses, I say it is a good thing, I am not opposed to it, but I prefer a steel plant to 100 cinema houses, or something like that.

Question: Mr. Nehru, could I ask you a somewhat tangential question to clear up a complicated point but one that interests me? You have at various times spoken about the necessity for birth control measures in over-populated countries, such as India. In connection with foreign aid from more developed countries would you consider it a legitimate function of foreign aid to help you in whatever birth control programme you might undertake?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, but I don't think that absorbs any large quantity of money. It isn't a question of money. Money is required to some extent but compared to other needs it is a handful.

Question: I ask you the question for a specific reason. If as a matter of principle the United States Government would refuse a request for assistance in a birth control programme, would you feel that is an unreasonable thing?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that is for the United States Government to decide. We have, I believe but I am not quite sure, I think we have received some sums, relatively small aid from the Rockefeller Foundation for birth control. Mr. John Rockefeller is very interested in it and discussed it when he came here.

That I never—it really is not a question of aid. It is mainly, first of all, a question of producing a suitable psychological background in the country, people accepting it, wanting it and we have, if I may say so, largely succeeded in that, which is a big thing. There is no organized opposition to it. Individuals oppose it, some religious groups, the small groups. The majority is not opposed.

Secondly, the major problem of this is finding a proper, well, contraceptive for it and most of the research has been for a pill to be taken only, a cheap, simple pill. You can't have a complicated thing for the masses of India. It must be cheap, it must be simple. That is the main thing.

Having got that done, then the third step is not too difficult. It takes a little time. Now, we have got, I believe, I don't know, I have read somewhere about 1,000 birth control clinics in India, which is very little for India. Still, it is something and they are all besieged, especially by women.

Question: Do you plan to enlarge that and expand that number in the Third Plan? Is that it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Undoubtedly it will expand but, as I said, we are keyed on getting that pill which is simple and cheap. Once we get there then we can expand easily.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, it has been suggested that the future of India in the direction that it will move economically and politically will very much affect the rest of what is now the uncommitted countries of Asia. I wonder how this applies to India and to the Indian Prime Minister. Do you feel that this is true?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, it is obviously true. Everything, the actions and reactions, what happens in India affects them, what happens in China affects them, what happens in China affects us, what happens in India affects China. Don't imagine that China is not affected by what we do. Leaving out the last year, or less, that is, since the Tibet troubles, we have sent many delegations to China and they have sent many delegations to us of technical...and looking at things that were not goodwill delegations but seeing our agriculture, what we are doing, seeing our industry, what we have done watching it, seeing our cooperatives and we have done the same to them. Obviously both India and

China are closely followed and watched by other countries in Asia.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, we got a kind of [...] that to the nation you are like a banyan tree which so effectively shelters the people that their growth is inhibited. Was there any thought such as that in your remarks of a year ago that you were thinking about retiring?

[No Growth under the Nehru Tree]

VANAMAHOTSAVA



J.P. said Nehru is like a big tree in whose shade nothing can grow well

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 DECEMBER 1959

Jawaharlal Nehru: About a year and a half ago.

Question: That's right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did say so, not because I considered myself a banyan tree but...

Question: You have many roots.

Jawaharlal Nehru: ...but for a variety of reasons rather personal and also I am interested to see how things would shape themselves if I was not there. Now, I would not retire for good, I told them. I said I was going away for maybe six months, eight months, nine months.⁴⁰ If you carry on and don't want me, very well, I will be very happy, but when I talk about retirements please remember that my being Prime Minister is only a very small—no, not small, but a part of my job. My major job has been, before I became Prime Minister and it continues, dealing with the Indian people, making them think as I should like them to think, making them act as I would like them to act. So that if I retire from the Prime Ministership it will have meant another time of campaign for me of the Indian people and maybe I might embarrass my successor...

Question: But when you do retire, Mr. Prime Minister, do you feel the matter of succession will be a big problem?

Jawaharlal Nehru: These are questions which are difficult to answer. In a sense it might not be immediately. It might not be—there will be good men, old men, but the real thing is not individual retirement. The real thing, and I think I was reading about it in some—one of your columnist's articles, Walter Lippmann or somebody, the point is not that the individual but the generation which fought for freedom here, the generation which might be called the founding fathers of the Republic, they are passing out. That is the real thing, not an individual like Nehru. I am one of them.

Now, of course, new people come and we can't say definitely how they will function.

Question: Mr. Nehru, it is quite clear that your major objective has been to make Parliamentary democracy work. Do you think it is now so firmly

40. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 501-502.

established that it will carry on and can it do the job of leading to progress and prosperity?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Parliamentary democracy by itself is good enough and people accept it but I will tell you the real difficulty. It is the way parliamentary democracy has been working in England or in India, it is much the same. Apart from the difference of the two countries it is most suited to a country which is not rapidly changing. It is slow moving, relatively slow moving.

In England it doesn't matter. They have advanced so much they can adapt themselves to this. In India it does matter if the processes are too slow.

Really it is not necessarily parliamentary democracy that is at fault but all the structure of government that we have inherited from the British, which was a slow moving structure not made for revolutionary advances, and it does slow down the pace. We are constantly considering how to increase the pace.

Even within the structure of parliamentary democracy, I mean, it is astonishing how long it takes us to get things when we decide a thing, to implement it. It takes us time. It has to go through so many processes.

Question: It is natural that you talk in this direction because President Eisenhower, when he has a spare moment, apparently gives some of his time to thinking how our own process of parliamentary democracy can be speeded up. He finds also that our system with its checks and balances act as a sort of brake on progress. Have you thought in any concrete terms as to what a better system might be?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I have not thought. I won't presume to criticise the American system which is different from ours, its checks and counter-checks in that sense, but I think that it is possible keeping the broad features of Parliamentary democracy as it is in India intact and nevertheless to change the internal processes of implementation.

After all, parliamentary democracy is to come to a decision properly. That might remain as it is. I have no objection to it even though it takes a little more time occasionally but the implementation part, that I am worried about, which is not an essential part of the present structure, can be speeded up. In fact, it is always speeded, if there is war, everything happens quickly.

Question: Is there any alternative to parliamentary democracy besides Communism in India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I am not thinking in terms of an alternative but one

thing I am thinking of, in terms of that we are in effect acting to decentralize power and authority as much as possible. Of course, the modern world goes more and more toward centralization, it is inevitable in this complicated world and one cannot decentralize central authority. They then will become just vague and won't be able to move.

But we have made—taken a big step in starting from the bottom. We have given a great deal of authority in the last few months to our village councils and the next stage of 100 villages coming together, or a district. We are giving over funds and authority to those districts and the old British system that is carried on of the District Officer being the boss there is going to fade out. He will be the friendly adviser with no real authority except the police function.

It is a very big step and it may very well lead us to difficulties, that is, they may not function well, but I think they will. To be clear there will be some mistakes and then there will be a sounder foundation of democracy than something at the top.

There is just one thing, we want to have a strong village council, a strong village cooperative and a village school as the three foundations.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, we have been talking about nations and the problems among nations. You were a human being, and a very wise one, before you were a Prime Minister. I wonder what would you say to young people now anywhere in the world coming into a world where the potentials are so very severe and so very drastic. What is the thing that one clings to?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I can only tell you, as I tell my own people, young people...

Question: We would like to hear that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: First of all, I tell them that when I was their age, say fifty years ago, or so, what the stage of India was, what the opportunities for young people there were, there were very little, and the enormous number of opportunities today.

When they grumble, I tell them [...] that they feel nothing has changed, that their chances are much better and I tell them how in my lifetime the world has changed.

I remember when I was about, oh, about I think sixteen or seventeen years old, seventeen, I think, I was in school, still in England when I was asked to write an essay and I chose for my topic air travel or flying, something like that. All my knowledge of it was which I read about the Wright brothers, of [...] in France, or Bleriot crossing over the Channel, which had fired my imagination.

I wrote to my father then, "I hope that soon I shall pay you weekend visits", which was rather premature, and now it is commonplace. We are going to the moon or will go to the moon.

I want them to feel that they are living in a rapidly changing, revolutionary world and to be fired by that fact, trained to it, and try to have a sense of adventure, going ahead and all that kind of thing.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, may I ask you a very personal question? We have about thirty seconds.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Question: I am rather curious about the rose which you always wear. Is there a particular reason for it, Sir?

Jawaharlal Nehru: None other than that normally my clothes are so drab that I want to see some colour.

Mr. Novins: Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for your presence here on Face the Nation.

4. To the *U.S. News and World Report*⁴¹

Impact of the Eisenhower visit—As India's Leader sees it

After the Eisenhower-Nehru talks what does India's Prime Minister say now about U.S. and Communism. Has Nehru's "neutralism" shifted a bit toward the West's side of the "cold war"? Prime Minister Nehru granted this informal exclusive interview to "U.S. News & World Report" two days after his conversations with President Eisenhower in New Delhi. In the interview India's political leader covered a wide range of key questions—Red China, Russia, the U.S. role in the world. Mr. Nehru was interviewed in his office by Regional Editor Robert P. Martin.

Question: Now that President Eisenhower's state visit is over, Mr. Prime Minister what in your opinion, has been achieved?

41. Interview by Robert P. Martin, New Delhi, 16 December 1959. Published in *U.S. News and World Report*, 28 December 1959, pp. 50-53. File No. 13A (ii), J.N. Papers (Supplementary), NMML.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Largely the achievements are shall I say, not solid material but something more important, affecting large masses of people—making them more friendly. It's not a precise thing in that you can say so much is gain and so much is loss, or that kind of business.

Undoubtedly President Eisenhower was received as he was received here because there is a great feeling of friendliness for him. That's obvious—it came out. But also he was received because of what he represents in the present context of events. Our people admire the lead he has taken, in trying to break through these deadlocks you are up against in the world, and trying his best to bring about some measure of peaceful settlements.

Maintaining security—of course, they've admired that. But apart from his personality, there is a feeling of friendliness toward the United States.

Question: Is that something new?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I'll tell you this, that at no time has there been a feeling of hostility in India toward the United States. We may criticize this thing or that thing, but basically there has always been a feeling of general friendliness.

Of course, newspapers exaggerate some differences of opinion that occur and you will say obviously these are the results of speeches by some person or other. Nevertheless what has been accentuated by Eisenhower's visit is the friendliness which is a good thing for both countries.

Question: Only a few years ago, wasn't the image Indians had of the U.S. that of a country engaged only in what has been called "brinkmanship"—going to the edge of war—and negotiating military pacts? Did Mr. Eisenhower change this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You see my country is affected normally by things which come close to it. Now, Mr. Dulles (former Secretary of State) talked about Goa in terms which I disliked here.⁴² That has an effect on the Indian mind. It has nothing to do with the U.S. as such. But speeches about Goa belonging to the Portuguese or speeches on "brinkmanship"—these bring only temporary reactions. Of course, you judge our attitudes by these reactions, by comments in newspapers here. So to some extent, yes, you may put it there has been an opposite reaction now to the reaction of a few years ago.

42. See SWJN/SS/31/pp. 423-434.

Question: Do the Indians make a distinction between American policy and the American people?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It's difficult to draw hard and fast lines. People generally don't sit down and analyze their feelings. They simply react to events. In that broad reaction there is a certain feeling that not the American people but for various reasons, certain elements in America were bellicose in the world situation—not to India, but just bellicose in general.

Question: Do you think America's basic position has changed? Why should Indians think Americans are less bellicose?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, whether the basic position has changed or not, it's difficult to say. American people as a whole—they are never considered bellicose. Remember that. Their whole way of life constitutes everything that is against warlike activities. But certain policies made people think America was warlike. Now that impression has been very largely removed by developments in the last year or two.

Question: Is there a divergence of views about Communism between you and President Eisenhower? You have said that Red China is aggressive because of historical compulsions, not because it is Communist.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Basically, the truth is that China has been expansionist whenever it is strong. But the present push also comes from rapid developments inside China, in military and industrial fields, if you like. The push is coming also from the Communist way of pushing their people and training the nation. This has made China relatively strong in a military sense, compared to what it was for many years. This aspect, military aspect, of strength is coming out now.

Question: Is Russia restraining China in any way?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should imagine so. Russia seems to me to be, if I may use the word, almost determined to come to settlement with the West. They are very keen on this, and for reasons one can understand. I mean selfish reasons, not for humanitarian reasons.

They are very proud of their achievements now, scientific this, that and the others. They think they are making good in the economic sphere. They don't want all this to be broken up by war. They gain nothing by war, no country wins.

Today no country really sensible wants territorial expansion, especially at the risk of war. What good is it to have a few hundred square miles of territory? Russia with all its vast expanse is not short of territory. They want to show that they can progress economically at a rapid pace and impress the world that way and, scientifically, in other ways. Therefore they are opposed to war and are keen on settlements. China is somewhat different. At the present moment their mentality does not fit into this Russian mentality.

Question: At what stage in Chinese history will their mentality change, become more powerful say?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In modern conditions, this business of war, of conquering territories, is becoming out of date. Wars are no longer private. They become world wars, which are terrible things. I think we are passing through a very vital phase in human history, brought about by many things but probably largely by the tremendous pace of technological development which makes old ways of thinking out of date.

Even in war you can't think of old-type wars now. It may start as a petty frontier affray, and that can be passed off. But the moment you think of a real war that means extermination, well, you have to think again that this is not the way out. And all this is going on so rapidly—I mean the technological advances—that man will have to adapt himself to entirely different sets of values. Even national boundaries have much less importance when all the skies are filled with people who are coming in every hour from distant places. Our minds lag behind our scientific achievements.

Now, as for China, nobody can say what will happen when. The biggest factor is this vast, growing population. That creates a difficult situation. But I should imagine after the first flush, after the revolutionary phase is over, it will gradually tone down, the revolution will stop. People can't live at a high pitch of fever and excitement all the time.

Question: Do you think every leader in China wants to maintain these revolutionary tensions in order to drive the people to greater efforts?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose that, even among these leaders there are various arguments, people pulling in different directions. But it doesn't come out as it does in democratic countries. In China everyone at least outwardly has the same posture.

RED VETO ON ARMS CUTS

Question: Going back to this question of dangers of war: Can disarmament or control of nuclear tests be negotiated without China's participation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course not. They have to be brought in. You can't have one heavily armed nation and the others disarming. It's not feasible. That is one of the major reasons we thought that [Red]⁴³ China should be in the United Nations. From outside of the United Nations, China can apply a brake on disarmament, a brake in the sense that you can't conceive of a disarmament agreement among all the other powers and China still being able to do what it likes.

Question: Have you a "Nehru Plan" for disposing of the problem of Formosa?⁴⁴

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I don't!

Question: A number of Indians seem to believe that, as a result of Mr. Eisenhower's visit, the U.S. now has a moral, if not written obligation to help out if India's sovereignty is very seriously threatened by Red China. Is that correct?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now I will tell you that this subject did not come up at all in our talks. It is absurd to think that I would put the question to Mr. Eisenhower or say something about it to him.

The way I put it to you is this: That any kind of war, if that unfortunately takes place, any kind of struggle or war between India and China is not going to be a simple affair for either party. Here you have two nations with some conceit about themselves, some pride, some strength, some determination. It's not that either party would quickly win the war or do something like that, or that either party would surrender. The thing would be a rather long-term affair and would likely spread to other areas of conflict. Where it would lead to finally I don't know. But you see, a thing like this would involve, in some way or other, the rest of the world. What would happen then when other countries were bound to become interested, of course I can't say.

43. Square brackets in original.

44. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 2.

KEEPING DISPUTES LOCAL

Question: Is that why you are trying to keep your border problems an affair strictly between you and China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, yes that's true. I don't want it to become a sort of an addendum to, let us say, the problem of Europe or Germany adding to the difficulties there. Adding this problem to other world problems would simply confuse everything. Any settlement should be done separately, though naturally every problem, however separate, has got a certain world context that you can't ignore.

Question: Do you think the Chinese may be bringing pressure on India to force you to spend more on armaments and slow down your Five Year Plans?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that I doubt. As a matter of fact, it may even have the opposite effect. That is, speed up the plan, our plan, make us attach more importance to fulfilling it.

Question: But, if you have to spend scarce capital for arms won't that hit squarely against spending for new factories?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That's partly true. But, as you well know, the real strength of a nation comes from an industrial foundation. Not only real strength but prosperity also. So at the moment both urges—that is, the need for defense and prosperity—both point to the same direction, of rapidly carrying out our program. Of course, if disaster comes tomorrow we will have to face it. That is a different matter.

Question: Are the Indian people so aroused by Chinese probing of the border that they may work harder and do more, regard work as patriotic?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It's difficult to describe what is happening. There's no doubt the people have been moved. Even a child on the street will say something if you ask him what he thinks of China's actions. He will be a little bit angry. But I hope Indians will not fritter away their energy but will concentrate it on constructive activity.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, in your opinion is there any difference between accepting economic aid and military aid if in either case, there are no strings involved—no requirement to join a defense arrangement?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If there are no pacts, and all those things involved, then perhaps the difference would be very little. But in reality, almost inevitably, pacts are involved. Of course I can imagine military aid coming in another manner, but normally it means an alliance or pact.

Actually, even when we buy arms, it's a kind of help. But there is a difference, which you can draw clearly, in free military aid. You may not actually sign an agreement but psychologically you have joined a military alliance.

Question: President Eisenhower said in one of his speeches that saintly men such as Gandhi would uphold the idea of mutual self-defense, which is in essence pacts or alliances between like-minded nations. Do you think Gandhi, if he were alive today, would agree with Mr. Eisenhower?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That's rather difficult to say. But it's obvious that Gandhi's idea was that a country should be powerful enough to defend itself without violence. And he firmly believed it can be if people are prepared to die. That in this way the other party, the attacking one, will be crumpled by spiritual force.

Now, no country is strong enough that way. For the rest, Gandhi said it is better to fight to preserve your freedom than be cowardly and surrender. That is stage number two.

Now, if you fight to preserve your freedom, then you must necessarily fight alone and not fight jointly. It follows, step by step.

Question: Is there competition between Red China and India to show which system is better suited for the rest of Asia?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Personally I have tried not to look at it from the competitive point of view. In some things a measure of competition, if you like, comes in. Naturally one compares, let us say, the success they've had in flood control and food production with what success we have had.

Until this year, we had sent any number of experts, expert teams, there to see what they are doing. And China had sent a good many teams here—two, three or four persons going through our scientific laboratories and our food-research institutes and all that, trying to understand what we are doing, and trying to learn something from us.

There's no doubt in many matters they have made considerable progress; they have achieved things in production. So an element of comparison comes in because both countries are trying to go as fast as they can.

But there are other aspects of many things in China, the way they do things, which are not to our liking. We would not like to change our ways basically. I

suppose the other countries round about to some extent watch what happens, as they would, and are affected by it.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM

Question: Do you see any real solution to the problem of India's growing population and its shortage of food?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Apart from the fact that we are trying to check our population growth, I think we shall grow enough food for all our people and more. Now remember, India's population appears alarming, pretty big. And yet the rate of growth is less than in many European countries. Also there are pretty wide areas in India that are sparsely populated, and we can grow food there. The land requires some treatment, the principal one being the addition of water.

About two years back, a World Bank team came here and said that we ought to be able to increase our food production by three or four hundred per cent. That's a very big percentage increase. This is possible because our output per acre is so low, which means that the potential for production is very great.

The World Bank team said we could do this, not immediately but in the course of years. I think that in theory we can produce enough food for our growing population for a considerable time to come. And sooner or later, in another generation or so, the rate of population growth will go down.

Question: Is there a conflict here over whether to put more money into agriculture or more into industry?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That problem is always before us. It's not really a conflict; it is two aspects of the same things. Both agriculture and industry have to develop. India can't develop on one foot. You can't hop about on one foot, no matter how fast that foot may function. Industry, for instance, won't flourish if we don't have adequate transport. But we want to give agriculture a very high priority and we are giving it that priority.

Question: Do you have enough capable engineers and managerial experts for your needs?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have good engineers and, during the last ten years, they have had considerable experience on the biggest projects. Now they can undertake these things themselves, like the river valley projects.

Managerial talent has been a big more difficult for us to train quickly, but

I think it's coming up—partly from our old civil service cadres. We take some from private business, and others are being trained, newcomers in the field. There are two or three rather good institutions for high class men to be trained in.

Question: Is bureaucracy a problem?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Bureaucratic control means in theory checks and counterchecks to prevent malpractices. That's the theory. You check him and he checks you. Of course, if you look for perfection that sometimes means that the wretched things never get done or are delayed.

Now we are thinking about trying to decentralize. We are giving more power to our villages. And in the big enterprises, public enterprises we make them corporations and tell them to go ahead and do their best. They operate just like private enterprise might, except, of course, that the profits, if any, come to the Government; and, if there are losses, the Government takes them. But we are trying to give these corporations authority with only the broader policies being laid down by Government.

Question: Is India doing anything to encourage investment by foreign private capital?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We welcome it, and we assure investors that their capital will be safe and they can get their dividends or whatever it is out of the country. We say their capital is safe, but, of course, investment is at their own choice or risk.

Question: Is private investment being permitted to enter industrial sectors hitherto reserved to the Government?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. According to our needs, we change the barriers a little here and there.⁴⁵ Our whole approach is pragmatic. Of course, this is within the framework of our ideals of socialism.

Actually, as an eminent American Professor said a few days ago, there is socialism in the United States just as there is socialism in India, only Americans don't call it by that name. Perhaps what he says is true. At any rate, we are laying stress on equality of opportunity.⁴⁶

45. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 366-371.

46. Max Millikan.

Equality of opportunity may be commonplace in the United States, but it is not commonplace thing in India today. We stress equality of opportunity and not too big a difference between the rich and the poor, and all that. This is the ethical aspect of socialism as it appeals to us.

Then there is the practical aspect, the best economic way of doing things. We think our way is right for an undeveloped country. What we do of course may not be necessary for America, which is a highly developed country.

MR. NEHRU AND DICTATORSHIP

Question: With all the vast problems India has to face, how have you managed to keep from being a dictator, just to get things done?

Jawaharlal Nehru: To begin with, I am not constituted that way. I would hate to be a dictator. It just doesn't fit in with my mentality. It is one thing, of course, to order people to do this or do that. But to function as a dictator—all the training of a lifetime would have to be sacrificed.

There is another question which we have to consider. We inherited a Government apparatus, good in its way, fairly efficient in its way. But it was all trained in a way of doing things slowly. It's the British system, but with this difference: The British system is functioning in an advanced, well-developed country. But we are going through a rapid revolutionary advance, and the system gets in our way.

I am not talking about parliamentary institutions but the actual procedures. The procedures delay us, come in the way of rapid advance. I think that we could maintain our parliamentary system intact, but improve the procedures.

Question: How much longer will you continue to be Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know. I wouldn't like to be Prime Minister for long. But don't imagine that that means I am close to retiring. My Prime Minister's job, highly important though it is, is only one aspect of my work.

I am so intimately tied up with the Indian people I can't break those bonds as long as I have any strength left. Even if I am not Prime Minister, I will be working with them, helping or criticizing the Government, as the case may be.

Question: What's the secret of your enormous vitality at the age of 70? How do you do it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Every person has to find his own way.

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

5. To Vichitra Narayan Sharma: Organisational Discipline and Cooperation¹

दिसम्बर 1, 1959

प्रिय विचित्र,

तुम्हारा 13 नवम्बर का पत्र कुछ दिन हुए मिला था। जवाब में कुछ देरी हुई, माफ करना। तुम्हारे खत को मैंने अच्छी तरह से पढ़ा। उसका पूरा जवाब देना तो तब हो जब कि मैं एक लम्बा मज़मून लिखूँ। कभी मुलाकात हुई, तो बातें हो सकती हैं।

जो तुमने मेरे इन्दौर के भाषण का एक अंश अपने खत में दिया है, उसमें मैंने कोई नई बात नहीं कही थी।² मुझे तो यह साफ मालूम होता है कि जब कांग्रेस या कोई संस्था एक अपना कार्यक्रम बनाये, तो उसकी कमेटियाँ और मैम्बरो को उस पर अमल करना चाहिए। ऐसी हालत में किसी ऐसे शख्स का कांग्रेस के ज़िम्मेदार ओहदे पर होना जबकि वह उस कार्यक्रम को नहीं स्वीकार करता, मुझे अनुचित मालूम होता है। यह तो मामूली दस्तूर संस्थाओं का है।

इसके माने यह नहीं हैं कि उस कार्यक्रम के अमल करने में कुछ फर्क राय का न हो। यह तो होता ही है, और खासकर हमारे देश में अलग-अलग हिस्सों में हालत एक जैसी नहीं है।

इस खास मामले में मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि तुम्हारा मतभेद क्या है। और बातों में कुछ फर्क हो सकता है।

हम कोआपरेशन या सहकारिता पर जोर देते हैं। इसके भी कई ढंग हैं, और उसकी बुनियाद यह है कि आम लोग उसको कुछ समझें और खास लोग कुछ सीखे हुए हों। इसीलिए सिखाने पर जोर दिया गया है, और आम प्रचार भी करने की कोशिश की गई है।

सहकारी खेती का सवाल बाद में रखा है, हालाँकि अब भी जो चाहे उसको शुरू कर सकते हैं। मैं इस बात को स्वीकार नहीं करता कि सहकारी खेती करने से लोग बेकार हो जायेंगे। हमारे यहाँ खेती ऊपरी तौर से होती है। कहीं ज्यादा मेहनत की जरूरत है, जैसे जापान या चीन में होता है। अलावा इसके सहकारी खेती के साथ सहकारी उद्योग व धंधे भी होने चाहिए।

तुम्हारा

[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

1. Letter to the Minister of Local Self Government, Uttar Pradesh.

2. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 254-256.

[Translation begins:

Dear Vichitra,

Received your letter of 13 November some days ago. Forgive me for the delay in replying. I read your letter thoroughly and would have to write a long essay in response to do justice. We could perhaps discuss it.

In your letter you have quoted some parts from my speech at Indore, but I have not said anything new there.³ I am quite clear that when Congress or any organisation prepares a programme, its committees and members should abide by it. I think it improper for a person to occupy a responsible position in Congress if he does not accept its programme. These are conventions practiced in organisations.

This does not mean that there are no differences of opinion about the implementation of the programme. This happens, especially in a country like ours where situations differ from region to region.

I cannot understand what your contention is in this particular matter. On other issues there could be a difference of opinion.

We emphasize cooperation or community development. There are many ways to implement this, and its foundation rests on the common people who must understand it and a few trained personnel. That is why the emphasis is on training and there have been efforts to publicise it.

The question of cooperative farming will be addressed later, though whoever wants to can begin now. I do not agree with the view that cooperative farming will result in surplus labour. In our country, farming is done in a superficial way. We need to work harder, as is done in Japan and China. Besides cooperative farming, cooperative industries and businesses should also be started.

Yours
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends.]

3. See fn 2 in this section.

6. To Manikyalal Varma: Meeting People⁴

दिसम्बर 1, 1959

प्रिय माणिक्यलालजी,

आपका 23 नवम्बर का पत्र मुझे कुछ दिन हुए मिला था। उसमें बहुत बातें ऐसी हैं जिनसे मैं सहमत हूँ। पिछले चंद दिनों की बहस जो लोक सभा में हुई, उससे भी कुछ बातें साफ हो गई हैं।

मैं तो बहुत खुशी से पार्टी के मैम्बरों से, या उनमें से कुछ लोगों से मिलने को तैयार हूँ। अक्सर लोगों से मिला भी करता हूँ। यह आपका विचार कि मैं कम लोगों से मिलता हूँ, या लोग मुझसे खुलकर बातें नहीं करते, पूरीतौर से सही नहीं है। काफी सफाई से मुझसे बातें होती हैं, और बहुत पत्र मेरे पास रोज़ सारे हिन्दुस्तान से आते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी मैं मिलने और बातचीत करने को तैयार हूँ।

आपका

[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

Dear Manikyalalji,

Received your letter of 23 November some days back. I agree with many of the points mentioned in it. Debates that took place in the Lok Sabha over the past few days have clarified many of the points.

I would be happy to meet party members, or some of them and I often meet them. Your opinion that I meet few people or that people do not speak to me freely is not quite correct. People talk to me openly and freely and I receive many letters from all over India every day. Yet, I am ready to meet and talk if need be.

Yours

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends.]

4. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

7. To INC: Draft Message?⁵

It has become almost a practice for us to call every Session of the Congress a vital one. There is certainly some truth in this because we are constantly facing problems of great importance and have to take decisions upon them. This is inevitable in a country which is rapidly advancing in many fields.

The last Session of the Congress at Nagpur laid down a programme of work which was not only in keeping with Congress policy and previous declarations, but was also peculiarly suited in the context of today in India. Indeed it surprised me that there should be a measure of opposition to it. Analysing this opposition it seemed to me to be based on some other factors and not so much on that programme itself. This opposition brought out the basic difference between those who disliked change in any important aspects of our social and economic life and those who wanted to pull out our social structure from its old traditional framework which was so static and unchanging. As usual, certain vested interests do not like any big change. That is shortsighted policy even for them and it displays an amazing ignorance of this changing world and changing India.

This opposition has been all to the good because it has brought out these basic issues and made people think. It has also shown that the Congress continues to have certain dynamism in it which gives it strength and purpose.

We have undertaken in India a tremendous task. That task basically is to pull out India from its economic and social ruts and modernise it in many ways, at the same time holding firmly to our basic ideals and principles. There is no future for India unless we step into the modern world of science and technology. Indeed if we do not do so, it will be difficult for us even to preserve our freedom. But this stepping into the modern world, does not mean our losing or forgetting our own inheritance in vital matters or our copying slavishly the great industrial nations of the world. We have to grow from our own roots and hold to our anchorage, at the same time accepting and adopting the spirit of modern science and the practices of modern technology. The world is fast changing before our eyes. We have to understand this change and to change ourselves to keep in tune with the new world. The new India that we build cannot be isolated or out of tune with all that is happening round about it.

The recent conflicts on our borders and the violation of these borders by China have suddenly compelled people to think afresh about our problems.

5. 9 December 1959. Probably a draft message for the AICC Session in Bangalore, January 1960.

The country has naturally reacted strongly against this aggression, but merely reacting to it in anger is not enough, and indeed this may drive us in a wrong direction. We have, of course, to protect our country's integrity and take all steps to that end. But it is equally necessary to think anew. The question of the border is associated, of course, with our defence; it is associated with our wider policies, such as non-alignment, Panchsheel; it is associated with rapid industrialisation in order to give the country strength and a greater measure of prosperity. In effect, we cannot isolate any problem, whether of defence or of any other. They are intimately associated with each other and we have to advance on all fronts, sometimes laying more stress on one, sometimes on another. Political, social and economic problems, national and international problems, all these must be inter-related in our thinking and in our attempts to find solutions. It is not ultimately possible to be politically advanced, if I may say so, and socially or economically backward or reactionary. So also it is not possible to advance much in the industrial field without dealing adequately with the land problem. For us, therefore, it is important to complete our land reforms and, at the same time, to push ahead with industry. That industry will necessarily be of all types, heavy, middling and small-scale, including village industries. All these, in their respective spheres, are important. But it must be realised that the very base for industrialisation and for greater wealth production, capital formation, investment and ultimately growing prosperity of our people, is the firm establishment of heavy industries, out of which others will grow.

Thus we have to think of all these aspects of our national life and economy as an integrated whole, and we must also remember that there is no resting place on the way or going slow. The tides of our national life are advancing, our population is growing fast, and our problems accumulate even as we go ahead. We have not only to keep pace with all this but also to go ahead if we are to advance at a reasonable pace in order to make good. All this, of course, requires tremendous effort as well as clear thinking.

It has been the high privilege of the Congress to be the leader in the struggle for independence as well as social and economic change. I do not deny that others have also worked to this end in various ways. But these other attempts have been rather of an adventurist character yielding little result. It is today, as before, the function of the Congress to discharge the heavy responsibility which rests upon it.

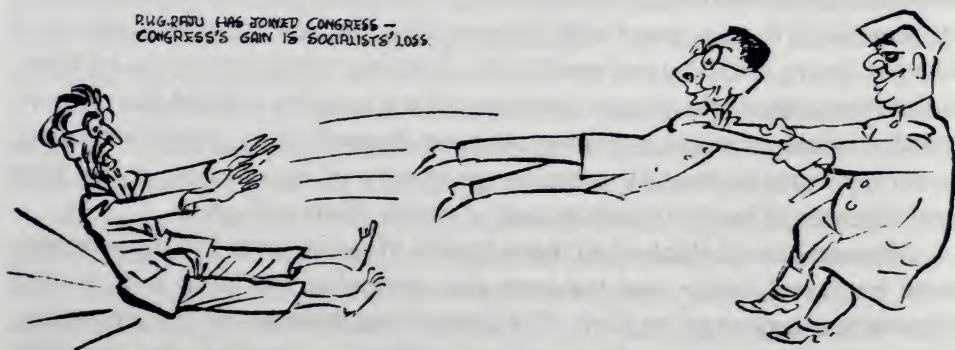
That requires, as I have said above, clear thinking and action. It requires discipline and integrity. There has been far too much of lack of discipline, lack of clear thinking and fissiparous tendencies in our organisation. Such tendencies have existed in the Congress even in earlier days, even when we were struggling for independence. We fought them then and kept them in check. We need not,

therefore, lose heart. If the problems are great so must our will be to overcome and solve them.

8. At the CPP: Subscription and Other Matters⁶

मैं आपका वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। यों तो दुनिया में बहुत बातें हो रही हैं। गौरतलब हैं और हमारे कांग्रेस के लिए खासतौर से। ... लेकिन कुछ official business सी हैं, एक तो, First thing is the admission of Shri P.V.G. Raju to our party. All of you, I suppose, know P.V.G. Raju; हाँ नहीं हैं वो, नहीं हैं, तुम्हें ठीक मालूम है नहीं है। He is not here today.

[Tug of War]



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 27 DECEMBER 1959

Shri Raju, perhaps you know, used to belong to Dr. Lohia's group.⁷ He is from Vijayanagaram and he broke from him about a year or more ago and since then he has remained as a more or less independent. Some months past he was in touch with our Andhra colleagues and comrades [...] came here your executive agreed to it and now we have placed it before you.

Well, the other matter is the position in regard to arrears of subscription of members. This is rather a serious matter and the Executive Committee of the

6. New Delhi, 22 December 1959. Tape No. M-48 c (ii), NMML.

7. Rammanohar Lohia, Leader of the Samyukta Socialist Party.

Party considered the question of accumulation of arrears of subscription and recommended that any member who is in arrears for over a year will automatically cease to be a member of the Party unless some reason forwarded is accepted by a committee of the executive. That is to say, they have pointed out that this should be strictly enforced unless there is very special reason, heavy illness or something. Something like that. So I hope you approve of this rule. Further they have said that for this purpose the year should be considered the calendar year and the last date should be 31st March (Someone: 31 December). I beg your pardon, no, no, for this year, because this is a new rule, they have fixed 31st March 1960 by which time, but otherwise of course 31st December will apply. Then there is some doubt perhaps about the AICC rule. The AICC rule has fixed that ten per cent of the salary, that is, Rs. 40 per month as contribution to the Congress organisation inclusive of the subscription to the parliamentary party. Now some people do not pay that, they only pay their subscription here, only Rs. 175/- now this full sum should be paid. You will realise that some parties, the Communist Party very particularly, they pay very large sums of money to their party, the members, very considerable sums and it is not very creditable to us as a party to show large arrears, it shows people are not keen. As you know you are quite right, they should not do so, there is I am no, no, they simply have paid half the fee if you like, they have not paid the whole [...] I will give you an answer.

Mahavir Tyagi: Sir, let me just make it clear....

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a matter for which I am not competent to answer. It is the AICC office, but once this was raised and the AICC office told us that this money is meant to go for the payment of paid Congress workers in those districts. That was the idea and they said that is the fault of the PCC they said, the PCC has to contribute something as this entirely goes there. But if the PCC will not take any steps then the money lies unused.

...कहाँ-कहाँ हुए हैं। Yes. नहीं-नहीं मेसज आप उनको लिखिए। तो मुझे कुछ खास कहना नहीं है। लेकिन अभी डिबेट वहाँ हुआ हाउस में, राज्यसभा में सुबह हुआ। इस सबके पीछे ये बातें हैं कि हम काम क्या करते हैं यहाँ। ... ठीक है। ... एक और बात शायद आपको मालूम हो गयी होगी कि एकजीक्यूटिव ने जो एक जुमाने को... एँ, आप बिलकुल सही कहते हैं, जुमाना लफ़्ज़ बिलकुल निकम्मा है। अरे भैया ये तो मैंने मज़ाकिया कहा था, वो तो निकम्मा लफ़्ज़ है। मैं मानता हूँ, मैं विद्‌डों उसे करता हूँ। लेकिन आइडिया उसके पीछे ये था कि एक रोज़ उन्होंने फंक्शन नहीं किया। असल आइडिया तो ये था कि उसे महसूस करें कि ठीक नहीं है। ये मुनासिब नहीं है और ये उस रोज़ शायद आपको मालूम हो डॉ. राधाकृष्णन ने, उस

रोज़ नहीं लेकिन एक रोज़ कौरम नहीं रहा था, तो उन्होंने राज्य सभा के मेम्बर्स को ऐड्रेस किया था। और कहा था, जाहिर है जो कहते हैं वो अच्छी तरह कहते हैं शराफत से लेकिन कहा था कि आपका एक प्रिविलिज है यहाँ होना और उस प्रिविलिज के साथ आब्लिगेशन है। और अगर आप आब्लिगेशन अदा न करें तो मुनासिब नहीं है उस प्रिविलिज को रखना। ... ये हो तो। ये तो है ही। खुद आपको मालूम है। हाँ तो मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि, ... अरे भाई मुझे माफ़ करो मुझसे गलती, ... नहीं, नहीं क्या लफ़्ज़ निकला है।

Someone: अखबार में ये निकला है कि

[Translation begins:

It has happened in some places, yes. No, no. You address the message to him. I do not have anything special to say. But we had a debate today in the Rajya Sabha [...] Alright [...] One more thing, you may have already heard about the fines [...] that the Executive has decided about fines. Eh? Yes, what you say is absolutely right, fine is a useless word. My friend, I said it in fun, it is a useless word. Alright, I agree, I withdrew it but the idea is that one should realise that it is wrong. This is not possible—you may know that the other day Dr. Radhakrishnan addressed the members of Rajya Sabha, no, not that day and there was no quorum; he said and it is obvious that whatever he says, he says it well—that it is your privilege to be present here and with it goes an obligation. If you do not fulfill that obligation, then it is not possible for you to retain that privilege [...] yes, exactly. You are aware of it yourself, yes, so I was telling you [...] my friend, please forgive me, I made a mistake, the word slipped out by mistake.

Someone: The newspapers report that...

Translation ends.]

[Proceedings continue in English]

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I have said the word 'fine' is nowhere mentioned, it is the Press that put it in. But I am asking our Secretaries to tell the press that it is wrong, this is not in the nature of a fine, it was not our use, it is ... no, no, no penalty, the Vice-President's language in our own way that the privilege of membership carries with it the obligation and as this obligation was not discharged this ... Now, ... one of course are those who are not in Delhi, it is a large number about a hundred or more. Then there are people who are in Delhi,

who did not come to the House at all. Every one of them, well, all of them were written to and their explanations in writing have come. Some are that they were lying ill in bed, some the illness was serious, some rather like a headache, whatever it was and two or three, three or four are such that they did come but they happened to arrive here a minute late when the door was closed and one has simply written, quite frankly, that he is sorry, it was laziness on his part, ... slackness, I am sorry, slackness, which was quite a frank explanation....yes, there were two or three ministers, one minister.... slackness be excused. No, there was one minister who was unwell that day in bed and one or two others arrived a minute late. We have appointed a small committee of three or four members of the executive to consider their explanations and decide finally, if they are adequate or not.

Now it is usual, when we part company at the end of a session, for me to say something. You must be tired and I do not propose to detain you, but perhaps for five or seven or eight minutes I might say one or two things. We have discussed during this session this China border matter more than once and it is obvious everyone knows how vital it is. I want to confess to you that I do not understand, I can understand a person's anger and everything but I cannot understand one thing, a person casually suggesting go and take them out. They do not realise how it is to be done. Suppose we gave an order do it, well it will be a military operation in a big way, it is not done in this way—as if you order a policeman to go and arrest somebody—when countries are concerned. These are difficult and serious matters. Naturally we would like to push them out.

For the present, as a matter of fact, in these months practically nobody, Indian or Chinese can do anything. I mean to say it is in a deep freeze, the place, owing to terrible climate, nothing much can be done. But what is necessary, what is far more important one is the military part, a far more important part is the civil part in which we can take part, utilising this opportunity not merely for exhibiting our anger but raising the morale of the people, organising them and generally producing a sense of preparation. That preparation is not merely military training, we propose to give military training to larger and larger numbers; not that they immediately become soldiers to be sent to the frontiers.⁸ As a matter of fact any person I get, students write to me, we are prepared to send you 500 people to the frontier or one thousand people or whatever it is.

8. On the same day, Krishna Menon addressed a meeting of the CPP's Defence Committee and assured them that adequate measures had been taken to defend the borders and to expand and strengthen the Lok Sahayak Sena. See *The Times of India*, 24 December 1959.

Now the fact of the matter is, it is an unfortunate fact, that when any medical board sits down to examine our students, they are very poor in physique, very very poor; class 2, class 3 physiques, what is one to do? They will be a burden to us, they will fall ill the moment you take them anywhere, specially in the hard work. Any soldiering is hard work, it is not fun; soldiering on these altitudes is particularly difficult work and people who are not used to the terrific colds just cannot stand it. All these persons will be in hospitals there or will have to be sent down. Well that is another matter. But the main thing, so we train them because training is good, not that by training them, they are fit to be sent to the frontier. In effect, our army that is kept there is almost entirely from the hills—Kumaon, Kashmir, Ladakh—hill people who can stand that climate and that altitude. Many people, any person that we send to this altitude, we have his heart examined, I mean any Officer that we send, we have his heart examined, strict examinations. Can his heart survive at an altitude of 15,1600 feet? Not an easy matter, everybody does not; for a few days he might, but living there he cannot, quite like in the old Ladakh campaign some of our very fine officers died, died not in the campaign itself but just by the long residence, by long I mean nine months, a year's residence on those altitudes, they came back and died in Delhi, just passed off, their heart had been affected by long residence.

So that all these things, no, but the main thing apart from these training programmes what we hope to introduce is really for people to get to know to do things. It may seem silly but whatever they do in a cooperate capacity, whether they build a road or a house or a library for students or anything let them do it for the sake of this China crisis, because they have an outlet for doing things. And they have training for it, they get better for any future work, instead of waiting for orders to march to the frontiers which of course are not suitable. But looking at it from the Congress point of view it is a very curious position. I think that in a vague way the Congress is better today than it was previously, previously meaning the last two or three years. At the same time it is in a bad way too in many states, internal troubles and all that. It is difficult to balance them. But the fact is, and, I do not think we should forget it, that in spite of these troubles among groups, parties, it is quite astonishing; the internal vigour that this organization has got, I am really surprised at it, I mean to say any normal organisation will be knocked down, yet it has an internal vigour and strength lower down in our ranks which makes it survive. How long I do not know, but anyhow that is not good enough....may be of course, may be.

Well it is unfortunate that some people do not believe in it, but that is my impression both the good part and the bad part, they are both there and I think that we should utilise this opportunity. [...] well I do not know to whom he was referring....now sit down, sit down...well I do not think this we cannot enter, I

might tell you that some members, a number of members, quite a number, wrote to me a letter yesterday, drawing my attention to a press conference which Shyam Nandan Mishra had given.⁹ Unfortunately I had not read it—I am sorry I cannot keep pace with newspapers everyday, sometimes I skip them, or just see the headlines, I have no time so I had not read it—and said—that they took objection to any Congress member, much more a Minister giving his views in this way on basic points.

Now, I could give no opinion because I had not properly read it. Shri Shyamnandanji came to see me two days ago or three days ago and he gave me a big pamphlet, which said that I put down some ideas here and all that I said, well I will read it, well I have not read it yet, I can give no opinion, I just kept it. I said I will read it and I have little leisure, it is a fat, fairly fat pamphlet thirty, forty, fifty pages may be, I do not know. So I have got it, so I find it difficult to express my opinion without reading it and may be one can read it too.

We have always, it is a... I am not expressing an opinion on that because I would like to read it but one has to balance two things always: one is, any step that a member takes which means, well, in a sense breaking out of the normal rules of the party, the other is suppressing individual members when they have bright ideas, you see one does not like it, one should not like to do that, a living organisation gives a fair amount of freedom, should I think, I do not believe in regimenting members, otherwise there will be no progress, on the other hand if this in the name of progress, if there is disruption well of course it is, it is how to balance between the two, one has almost to consider that and it becomes an opinion in a stated case not a broad opinion which might apply to everybody because cases differ. Well we cannot go into that, but no doubt you will read this and I shall read it and if you like to consider it we will consider it in the next session when we meet, six weeks later not very long, six or seven weeks from now, six weeks..... no, no, I have not read that, I cannot say ... No, I have no idea about these coalitions, may I say I got your letter, you talked about coalition, I know, nothing about, ... no, no may be, what I meant is this in my letter to you there was nothing about coalition ... I find it very difficult unless I know precisely what a thing is to do. मैं समझता हूँ चूँकि जिक्र हुआ है इसका, मैं श्याम नन्दन मिश्रा जी से कहूँ कि, आप चाहते हैं कुछ कहना, आइये कह दीजिए।

S.N. Mishra: [...]

9. See items 60 and 61.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : We would not... आप जानते हैं कि एक तीन हफ्ते में बेंगलोर में कांग्रेस सेशन होने वाला है।¹⁰ हर साल होते हैं कांग्रेस सेशन और हर साल कभी-कभी कहा भी जाता है कि ये सेशन बहुत अहमियत रखता है, हर साल कहा जाता है। वाक्या ये है कि कांग्रेस सेशन अहमियत नहीं रखता है बल्कि वाक्यात अहमियत रखते हैं। और चूँकि वाक्यात अहमियत रखते हैं कांग्रेस की, जो उसपे गौर करे वो भी उता ही रखता है अहमियत। और जो हम, हमारे सामने सब सवाल हैं, पेचीदा सवाल हैं, परेशान करते हैं, गुस्सा हमें चढ़ आता है अपने ऊपर, अपने साथियों पर और जो भी होता है कभी, लेकिन उससे कोई सवाल तो हल नहीं होता। जब एक ऐसे पेंच में हम पड़ते हैं जो कि आजकल यहाँ का नहीं है, और मुल्कों में भी है, तो होता ही है ये और हमें उनका सामना करना पड़ता है जिती हममें अक्ल और ताकत है। बहरसूरत काफी हमारे सामने सवाल हैं।

अभी मैं पढ़ रहा था एक, आपमें से भी पढ़ें, मैंने पूरी नहीं पढ़ी है, एक यहाँ कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेन्ट की इवैल्यूएशन कमेटी थी। उसने किताब निकाली है और उसमें, बाहर से आये थे लोग कुछ, बड़े-बड़े साहब यहाँ आये थे, हाँ, हाँ किसी ने भेजा हो, विदेश कि आदमी थे एक तो पेरिस के थे एक कहीं के थे। तो प्रोफेसर पेरिस का मैं एक मजमून पढ़ रहा था। न्यू स्टेट्समैन में,¹¹ जो उसमें आये थे। पूरा खत्म भी नहीं किया, आधा पढ़ा था मैंने। तो वो एग्रीकल्चर प्रोग्राम पे कह रहे थे कि कितने हल्के हम बड़े हैं। और उन्होंने कहा था इसका कसूर नहीं है बड़े-बड़े, बड़े-बड़े इरिगेशन वर्क बनाए और बड़ा ये और बड़ा वो, लेकिन उससे फायदा नहीं उठाते। जहाँ चीन में खराब ज़मीन ये उन्होंने पैदा किया मेहनत करके और कहीं-कहीं दो फसलें साल में, यहाँ एक पे राजी हैं दूसरी की कोशिश नहीं करते। खैर, उन्होंने ये नतीजा निकाला कि हमारे सोशल कस्टम बहुत रास्ते में आते हैं। पुराने आदतें, सोशल कस्टम वगैरा-वगैरा, आप पढ़ लें उसे, मैं नहीं जानता, देख लेंगे आप।

वाक्या ये है कि हमें एक, बड़े-बड़े हम नक्शे करते हैं पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा और करेंगे, मुझे पक्का यकीन हो गया कि जो सबमें बड़ी चीज़ जरूरी है एग्रीकल्चर के लिए वो गुड हस्बेंडरी है। गुड हस्बेंडरी यों तो जरूरी है, फर्टिलाइजर जरूरी है, यानी जरूरी है जाहिर है अच्छे बीज, लेकिन गुड हस्बेंडरी यानी आजकल के कुछ माडर्न तरीके सीड के, अच्छी तरह से काम करें। जो, वो नहीं हैं। और जहाँ-जहाँ हैं वो आपको नतीजा अच्छा मिलता है। कुछ मुकाबलेतन पंजाब में अच्छी है। ज़रा ज्यादा अच्छा है। आंध्र में किसी कदर अच्छी है, अच्छा नतीजा मिलता है। जहाँ-जहाँ है वहाँ अच्छे नतीजे निकलते हैं, लेकिन वाक्या ये है कि हम हर वक्त ज्यादा रुपया, ज्यादा ये, जो हमने रखा है उससे भी हम फायदा पूरा नहीं उठा रहे हैं, ये दिल दुखता है। मुसीबत से हम रखें, करें, नहरें आंध्र में बड़ी भारी नहर निकल रही है तुंगभद्रा से। कोई उसमें से पानी अभी तक नहीं हो रहा है, अब शायद ले रहा हो, यानी गाँव में चैनल्स नहीं हैं। बहुत पानी बह जाता है। उधर से निकल के इधर निकल जाता है समन्दर में, और हल्के-हल्के

10. 16-17 January 1960.

11. See item 85.

वो होता है। कर्नाटक में, अच्छा कर्नाटक में सही, जहाँ कहीं हो। और जगह, उत्तर प्रदेश में यही था कि गाँव में नहीं बने, क्योंकि पहले जमींदार लोग करते थे, जमींदार बड़े रहे नहीं अब, न ये करते हैं, न स्टेट। खैर वो हल्के-हल्के हो रहा है। मतलब ये हो तो सब बातें हो रही हैं। नहीं-नहीं मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ अरे भाई साहब, सुनिए ये हो सकने का सवाल नहीं है, हो रहा है। हो रहा है, खाली रफ्तार होने को हल्की है। हो रहा है, वो होगा और रफ्तार भी बढ़ेगी मतलब ये है कि हमें उसमें जरा ज़ोरों से पड़ना है। और खासकर अगर आप जाएँ तो ये सब चाइना वगैरा का मामला समझाएं प्रोपर कान्टेक्स्ट में, यानि उसमें हमारे ऊपर क्या बोझा है, खाली चाइना पर गुस्से हो जाने से तो हम क्या करने वाले हैं। हम अपने गाँव में क्या करें, घर में क्या करें, कैसे तैयार हों इस कान्टेक्स्ट में कि ये एक बोझा हमें उठाना है। खैर, आपसे ज्यादातर लोगों से तो शायद तीन हफ्ते में बंगलोर में मुलाकात हो, बहराल नया साल आपको मुबारक हो।

[Translation begins:

...Since this has been mentioned, I would request Shri Shyam Nandan Mishra to come and speak, if he wishes to.

S.N. Mishra: [...]

Jawaharlal Nehru: We would not....As you know, the Bangalore Session of the Congress is due to be held in three weeks.¹² We have a session every year, and every year, it is said that these Sessions have a great deal of importance. The fact is that it is not the Congress Session which is of importance, but the activities which are important. And since Congress activities are important, to examine and discuss them also becomes important. We have to face difficult situations, complicated situations which irritate us. We get angry, with ourselves, with our colleagues or whoever happens to be around. But that does not solve any problems. When we are in difficulties—which is not a situation peculiar to face them with as much strength and intelligence as we are capable of.

At present there are many difficulties before us. I am reading—you should also read it—a book brought out by the Evaluation Committee of Community Development. Some experts who came from abroad—yes, yes, whoever may have sent them—one of them a Professor from Paris (who has recently written an article in the *New Statesman*)¹³ have commented on our agricultural programme. I have not read it fully but their opinion seems to be that we are

12. See fn 10 in this section.

13. See fn 11 in this section.

making very slow progress on the agricultural front; also that though we have big irrigation works and projects, we do not benefit fully from them. Whereas in China, even with infertile land, they have managed to produce, not one but very often two crops a year, by sheer hard work, here we barely manage to go in for one crop and never try for a second. Anyhow their conclusion was that our old customs old habits, etc.—you can read it for yourselves.

The fact is that though we may draw up five year plans etc., I am convinced that what we need is good husbandry. It is obvious that it is necessary to have fertilizers, etc. But good husbandry, and modern methods of agriculture are very important and wherever they have been adopted, the results have been very good, compared to other states, Punjab has shown good results. So also has Andhra. So we can show better results. What really hurts is that though we spend a great deal of money, we do not derive full benefit from it. We undergo many hardships to put up these projects. There is the Tungabhadra Project in Andhra. So far there have been no channels from it into the villages perhaps it is being done now. Much of the water gets wasted—it flows away into the sea. Elsewhere too, in U.P. also the same thing has been happening. There is no irrigation system in the villages. The zamindars used to take an interest in the old days, now there are no zamindars, so now neither the people nor the State take any interest. Well, anyhow, progress is very slow. Yes, my friend, it is not a question that it is happening. It is merely a question of speed—it is very slow. We must increase our speed by working harder. You have to understand what is happening in China in its proper context. What is the use of our getting annoyed with China? We have to see what we can do in our villages, in our own house, how to prepare ourselves to shoulder this burden.

Well, most of us will be meeting in Bangalore in three weeks time. Anyhow, I wish all of you a very happy New Year.

(b) States
(i) Andhra Pradesh

**9. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Choosing a Congress
Legislature Party Leader¹⁴**

December 21, 1959

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I am rather worried about the developments that appear to be taking place in regard to the election of the Leader of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Legislature Party on your resignation from that office.¹⁵ Normally I do not concern myself with such matters, except to some extent when they come up before us in the Congress Parliamentary Board or in the Working Committee. I do not like interfering in matters the responsibility for which lies with others. Also Andhra Pradesh has been, broadly, doing so well under your Leadership that we have seldom had any need to worry about it.

But lately some developments have taken place which have made me think about these matters, even though I have been terribly busy and rather overworked. The first event that troubled me was the sudden proposal that you should not resign at this stage and that Indira should preside over the Bangalore Session of the Congress. If originally this had been agreed to, I would not have minded at all. But after all that had happened and in fact, after your election as Congress President,¹⁶ this proposal seemed to me, very wrong and unfortunate. It showed a certain apprehension for Andhra Pradesh and created a sense of weakness which is not good. Apart from all this, there was no chance of Indira agreeing at this stage and after all that had happened, to carry on in the way suggested. I am glad that that matter has ended, but even so it created a rather bad impression in many people's minds.

Now the question of leadership of your Party appears to be agitating people's minds. This issue should have been decided long ago as delay in such matters means indecision and is a sign of weakness. The longer the delay, the more people develop a rigid view and a tendency arises for the formation of groups. I was, therefore, sorry that this election of leader was postponed.

14. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

15. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 286.

16. While he was elected on 3 December 1959, Sanjiva Reddy was formally sworn in at the Bangalore Session of the Congress in January 1960.

Obviously this has to be decided soon, the sooner the better. I had given no thought to it, or not much thought. But I have been forced to think because the Andhra MPs come to me and say they are greatly troubled. A number of other people have also come to me on this subject. I have discussed Andhra matters with Pantji and Morarjibhai and, of course, with Indiraji. I am not particularly interested in the individual who may be chosen as Leader. Of course, I am interested that the person chosen should be a man of integrity and ability and of the right views. There is too much watering down of Congress policies etc. and leadership should now go to men who have clear and stout views and who have capacity to work. There may be several such.

Andhra Pradesh, as I have said, has given us little trouble. But in one matter it has given us trouble. Your Agriculture Minister, Thimma Reddy, appears to be not at all in tune with the policies laid down by the Congress or the Central Government, and he has, in the past, even expressed himself forcibly in regard to these differences of opinion. I have written to you about this, as well as to him. I mention this more particularly because, in the context of events today, it is of importance to give clear leads to our people.

The Congress MPs from Andhra Pradesh who have come to see me have spoken in favour of Raju¹⁷ being made the Leader. I have told them that in this matter the Party should decide and I do not wish to come into the picture. Raju is certainly a man I like for his clear views and ability. I think he is a man of integrity. But who am I from this distance to suggest any name? That is what I told the Congress MPs. They were rather apprehensive lest someone else should be chosen, and feared this might not be good for the Andhra Pradesh Ministry or the Congress there. According to them, there was a widespread demand among Congressmen in Andhra Pradesh in favour of Raju.

I remember you discussing this matter with me rather vaguely once and mentioning Ranga Reddy's name and also Brahmanand's. I know Ranga Reddy, of course, but I do not know Brahmanand¹⁸ well at all and can, therefore, give no opinion. Ranga Reddy is a good man, but has rather conservative views which might come in the way of effective leadership.

For a long time past, it has been my firm opinion that no one should be imposed on a Party. It is always better for a Party to choose freely. One can, of course, privately express one's own views. The moment there is any sensation of imposition, the reaction is not good, and continually difficulties arise. In the UP whenever any question arises of election to a high post, I would insist on

17. M.P. Raju, Minister of Forest, Fisheries and Animal Husbandry.

18. K. Brahmanand Reddy, Finance Minister, Andhra Pradesh.

election and refuse to nominate any one even when pressed to do so. Here in our Congress Parliamentary Party, I have often been asked to nominate the Deputy Leader or the Executive Committee. I have always refused and left it to the Party to choose.

Thus you will see that my views about these procedures have been dear to me for a long time past, and I believe they are right. If you would ask my opinion, I would without hesitation say that the matter should be left to the Party. That would obviously be good from your personal point of view, and I think it would be good from the Party's point of view. Nominations or impositions are always followed by undesirable consequences.

I have no idea whom the Party might choose in the circumstances. The choice might lie between two or three persons. Let them choose among them and bear the responsibility for it. Otherwise they will become irresponsible and for every ill thing that happens afterwards; they will cast the blame on you.

I hope you do not mind my writing to you. I have long hesitated to do so, but ultimately I have decided to write.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(ii) Bombay

10. To G.B. Pant: Splitting Bombay State¹⁹

I enclose a letter from the Congress President with which she has sent me a copy of a resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Congress in regard to the reorganisation of Bombay State.²⁰ You are fully aware of the background of this resolution. We have occasionally referred to this matter in Cabinet, but the Cabinet has not considered it thus far.

I think that it will be desirable for this now to be processed by your Ministry and a paper prepared for the consideration of the Cabinet.

19. Note to the Home Minister, 5 December 1959. File No. 3/6/59-SR (R), MHA.

20. Letter from Indira Gandhi, 5 December 1959. The resolution was sent as an enclosure. For resolution, see *Congress Bulletin*, No. 10, 11 and 12, October-December 1959, pp. 441-445.

[Splitting Bombay]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Father, is that what they are doing?— splitting Bombay!

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 10 DECEMBER 1959)

(iii) Jammu and Kashmir

11. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi: Defence Pact with Pakistan²¹

December 2, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

My attention has been drawn to an article appearing in the "Payam-e-Inquilab" of the 10th November, 1959. In this article, the policy of India has been severely criticised and it has been suggested that our policy of non-alignment should be abandoned. We should line up with one of the blocs or, at least, we should have a defence pact with Pakistan. If we are not prepared to do so, then we should hand over the Government to some veteran soldier like General Cariappa etc. etc.

Is this paper "Payam-e-Inquilab" allied to any party in Kashmir either formally or informally?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

12. To Subimal Dutt: Leh-Kargil Road²²

The Prime Minister of J & K saw me this evening, and we had a talk about the road to Leh. Much has been said about the Kargil-Leh road.²³ According to him, this is now in good hands and ought to be completed by October next. This road is apparently for three tonners. There is a question of one or two bridges. These are not very big. He wanted the help of the Army for the construction of these bridges.

2. The other part of the road that is from Zoji La to Kargil is at present only good enough for jeeps. Thus half the road can have three tonners and the other half only jeeps. Obviously this should be made uniform for three tonners.

3. Bakhshi Sahib thinks that the Kargil-Leh road should be left in charge of the present engineers with some kind of broad supervision by the Army. But the Army might take up the road from Zoji La to Kargil, which is already there, and broaden it and otherwise make it suitable for three ton trucks etc.

21. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

22. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 22 December 1959. File No. 20/49/60-K, MHA.

23. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 579-580 and p. 581.

4. Bakhshi Sahib further told me that Shri Kushak Bakula²⁴ was not being at all helpful in the matter of this road. He wants the whole Kargil-Leh road to be handed over to the Army. Also he makes very big demands for the labour there, much bigger wages than normal and large quantities of foodstuffs. It is very difficult to send anything there. He wanted me to talk to Kushak Bakula, but I have no time now as I am going away tomorrow morning. I think you might, if possible, have a talk with him and say that this is an urgent matter and we hope he will give his full cooperation and not raise difficulties.²⁵ If the Kargil-Leh road is transferred to the Army now as a whole, it would mean a gap of several months before new arrangements are made. Therefore, it is best for the present arrangements to continue. Bakhshi Sahib, however, intends appointing a small supervising committee with the Chief Army engineer in Kashmir as a member of this road making programme. I think this should be adequate for the present.

5. You might keep in touch with this matter.

(iv) Madhya Pradesh

13. To K.N. Katju: Ramsingh Bhai Varma²⁶

December 2, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

I am glad to know that Ramsingh Bhai Varma²⁷ has been released and his case is over.²⁸ As you know, I have been distressed by this case. It does not much matter if a person goes to prison for a few days, but the whole background of this seemed to me to be wrong. It has indicated that the outlook of the officials in Madhya Pradesh or in Bhopal is completely out of date. A person of Ramsingh

24. Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs and Trade Agencies, Jammu & Kashmir Government.

25. Kushak Bakula met Subimal Dutt on 22 December 1959 and reiterated his point on the Army taking charge of the Leh-Kargil route and the inability of the J&K engineers to do so.

26. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

27. President of the Madhya Pradesh unit of INTUC and Lok Sabha MP from Nimad.

28. Ramsingh was released on 25 November 1959 on payment of a fine of Rs. 251. He was arrested in September 1959 for taking out a procession in defiance of a prohibitory order under Section 144 of the Cr.PC. See *The Hindustan Times*, 27 November 1959. Also see SWJN/SS/53/pp. 449-451 and p. 456.

Bhai's position as Member of Parliament and as a very important and responsible leader of the labour movement should be treated with every consideration not only by the officials, but by Ministers and the like. Of course, however important a person is, if he breaks a law, he has to suffer for it. But every occasion for such a conflict should be avoided from the beginning.

It is on the face of it astonishing that an organisation which is well-disciplined and obviously represents labour in a very big way and which, at the same time, is supporting a Government measure, should come in conflict with the police on this very account. It may be that the police had no particular animus against Ramsingh Bhai, but nevertheless the local authorities seemed to have functioned in complete ignorance of the modern world and rather in the old British style.

In Ramsingh Bhai's case it is clear that he had been informing all the authorities concerned of his proposed demonstration and thousands of people had come from far off places. These included many women workers. To prohibit this at the last moment was to say the least utterly lacking in courtesy and discrimination, apart from creating a difficult situation. It is not an adequate answer to say that conflict was feared. Either action should have been taken before people had come or others should have been stopped from coming in the way. This whole story does not bring much credit to the local officials.

It also seemed to me that the local officials should not have acted without consulting Government in such a matter in the capital city. One must always remember the position of Ramsingh Bhai. He is not an irresponsible agitator. He is a man greatly respected and has disciplined his workers remarkably.

This is over now and therefore we need not worry about this particular question. But I think it would be desirable for you to have an informal private talk with your senior officials, both civil and police, and make them realise how the world should function today. A talk with your Ministers also on this subject will be helpful. There appears to be a tendency among your Ministers to function independently as they choose. That is not right.

May I also suggest that you may keep closer contact with the Congress organisation in Madhya Pradesh? Naturally you will keep outside the groupings, but contact is good.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(v) The North East

14. In the Rajya Sabha: Violation of Air Space in NEFA²⁹

Amolakh Chand:³⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a mysterious plane was spotted twice near about the North East Frontier Agency area at midnight in the middle of September and first week of October, 1959; and
- (b) if so, whether the identity of the aircraft has been established?

Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

(a) and (b): Yes Sir; some planes flew over N.E.F.A. during the third week of September, 1959. Their identity could not be established.

Amolakh Chand : May I know what the method adopted by the Government of India to find out the identity of these planes is?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The normal method of trying to establish identity. I do not know, there are no secret methods. The planes are observed and they are pursued wherever possible and their identity is established. May be, if possible, a photograph might be taken. Now these planes come, the new type of fast-going planes, they dash over. It is a matter of seconds, not even minutes, and they fly very high.

Amolakh Chand: May I know whether it is practically impossible to find out the identity of such planes and as such these planes are likely to hover over the NEFA and other areas?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sometimes it is very difficult, sometimes it may be almost impossible. I cannot say. Sometimes it is even difficult for the pilot to know that he has crossed the border, because unless he keeps about ten or fifteen miles away from the border always it is impossible for the pilot to spot the border down below, and within a minute he goes five or six miles or even more, so that a slight deviation often occurs even unintentionally, and sometimes it is intentional.

29. Oral answers, 1 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 889-893.

30. Congress.

Dr. Raghubir Singh:³¹ May I know if any efforts are being made to ensure that these planes are contacted by radio communication, when they happen to cross the border?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say exactly whether they are contacted by radio or not. But the whole thing usually takes a matter of seconds, sometimes one or two minutes.

Yashoda Reddy:³² It has been stated that the present-day planes fly very high and fast and that it is impossible for the pilot to find out or photograph them. May I know whether the Government of India is trying to have a new or better equipment to spot such high-flying and fast planes?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not expected to give details about the kind of technical apparatus we use. That would not be in the public interest.

Rajendra Pratap Sinha:³³ May I know how many miles they crossed deep into our territory? Has the Prime Minister got any information as to the direction from which they came, whether they came from the direction of Pakistan or from the direction of Tibet?

Lakshmi Menon: North, north-east, south, south-west.

Mr. Chairman: North, north-east, south, south-west.

Lakshmi Menon: Some of them were coming from the direction of Tibet, from the North, along Tawang.

Rajendra Pratap Sinha: Has the Deputy Minister got information as to how many miles deep they got into the Indian territory?

Lakshmi Menon: I have no information.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru:³⁴ As the planes have repeatedly flown over Indian border without being identified, have Government considered the desirability of

31. Congress.

32. Congress.

33. Independent.

34. Independent.

using any special means in order to discover their identity?

Mr. Chairman:³⁵ They are doing it, but it is not in public interest to disclose that information here.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what the hon. Member means by 'special means'. All the means we have, we employ, and we normally discover the identity. Sometimes it is not possible. There may perhaps—not to my knowledge—be some extra special means which we do not possess, which perhaps are so expensive that we do not think it worthwhile to possess in the balance.

Rajendra Pratap Sinha: Sir, I would like to know if the Government has given any direction to the military which is now in control of this area to shoot down such planes which invariably cross into our borders.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. We have given no such directions. Normally, such directions are not given and planes are not shot down normally unless a country is at war.

Rajendra Pratap Sinha: These people will be coming and spying our border security arrangements and, therefore, the minds of this House and the minds of the country are excited on this point. We would not like foreign planes to come and cross into our borders and see our defence arrangements. The Government must explain to us what arrangements it is making to stop such violation of our border territories.

(No reply)

Santosh Kumar Basu:³⁶ Is it not right that we should be more circumspect in these days in putting such questions?

V.K. Dhage:³⁷ The hon. Prime Minister stated that they have not given instructions to shoot down the planes. But I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether any instructions have been given to prevent such violations of border taking place.

35. S. Radhakrishnan.

36. Congress.

37. Independent.

Rajendra Pratap Sinha: That will satisfy us.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We try to prevent them. Our neighbouring countries complain about our violations; we complain about their violations—both sides complain. I am not going into the merits of it. Sometimes, they are deliberate; sometimes, they are unintentional. As for shooting down, apart from the fact that they are not normally shot down, when there is a chance of shooting down a plane, one can easily identify it also. The thing is, planes fly at such a height and so quickly, and even the chance of shooting is not there unless one uses anti-aircraft apparatus and all that, which one does not do in peace-time.

15. To P. Subbarayan: Roads in the North East³⁸

December 2, 1959

My dear Subbarayan,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th November about the roads in the North-Eastern border area. I am glad you are expediting the construction of these roads.

There are two aspects which I should like to stress. One is the delays in the preliminary process of sanction etc. I see that you have done something about this matter. I hope that is enough.

The second point is that the first thing to be aimed at should be to make a good jeepable road. It may be improved later. The moment it is jeepable, it can come into use for urgent purposes.

I was reading the other day an account how the Chinese build roads in Tibet or, indeed, in the part of Ladakh which they have occupied. Of course, their army does it. They simply come up in trucks, and the builders start building. The more they build, the further the trucks go. And so they carry on, their roads are not too good. But they are good enough for trucks. I suppose there is not much difficulty there about sanctioning and asking for tenders and all that.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

38. Letter to the Minister of Transport and Communication.

16. For Jagdish Narain Choubey: Volunteers for Road Building³⁹

Please reply to Shri Jagdish Narain Choubey as follows:

“The Prime Minister has received your letter of 27th November and thanks you for it. He appreciates your offer to provide a hundred thousand young men to be utilized in constructing roads on the Indo-China border. Perhaps it is not realised that this is not at all feasible. To send young men from here and to lodge and feed them on the border will probably increase the cost of these roads tremendously. Also the quantum of work done by them will probably be very low indeed as they are not used to this hard work. Further the climate of these mountain areas is so extreme that most people who are not used to it or to the altitude will probably fall ill and special arrangements will have to be made to look after them.

The Prime Minister suggests, however, that these young men could well offer their services for physical work near where they are.”

17. In the Rajya Sabha: Anti-India Propaganda in Kalimpong⁴⁰

Jairamdas Daulatram:⁴¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that anti-Indian literature relating to India's attitude about Tibet and Indo-Tibetan border questions, has been secretly imported into and distributed in India via Kalimpong and other Centres; and
- (b) whether the local agents who have been employed for the distribution of this literature have been traced and dealt with?

Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) We have come across an unsigned cyclostyled leaflet purporting to have been issued by the Chinese People's Anti-Expansionists Committee. This has been received by various individuals and newspapers and political parties in India and seems to have been posted from Kowloon, Hong Kong. We have also seen a pamphlet entitled 'Indian Imperialism—threat to Asian Unity' which

39. Note to PPS, Kesho Ram, 7 December 1959.

40. Written answers, 9 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, col. 1926.

41. Nominated.

probably emanated from Colombo. This pamphlet does not bear any indication of its authorship, but both were sent through postal channels.

(b) The Government of India has since banned the entry into India of any material which questions the frontier of India.

18. To B.P. Chaliha: Renaming the Brahmaputra Bridge⁴²

December 18, 1959

My dear Chaliha,

Your letter of the 15th December. My first reaction to the proposal to name the Brahmaputra Bridge as the Saraighat Bridge is not in favour of it. If Saraighat had been on the spot there or very near it, perhaps this name might have been given. But to import a name from a distant locality would hardly be appropriate even though there is a historical significance to it. The battle of Saraighat was no doubt an important one, and it would be worthwhile to put up some memorial column or something else there.

I do not quite know where Saraighat is.

I shall discuss this matter with our Railway Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

19. To Jagjivan Ram: Renaming the Brahmaputra Bridge⁴³

December 18, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

You must have received a copy of Chaliha's letter to me of the 15th December. I enclose a copy of my reply.⁴⁴ If Saraighat is very near the place where the Brahmaputra Bridge is being put up, then perhaps we might accept the proposal. But if it is far, then this will not be appropriate.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

42. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam.

43. Letter to the Minister of Railways.

44. See item 18.

20. To Subimal Dutt: Civil and Military Not Cooperating⁴⁵

Please see the first eleven paragraphs of the letter from the Governor of Assam to the President.

I am rather concerned about the lack of cooperation which has often been noticed between the civil and military authorities in NHTA. In a place like the NHTA and in the circumstances existing today, it is essential for the closest cooperation between these two Services. The presence of General Shrinagesh as Governor should facilitate this coming together.

General Shrinagesh's suggestions in paragraph 11 are interesting.

(vi) Punjab

21. To J.B. Kripalani: PSP Support for Punjabi Suba⁴⁶

December 9, 1959

My dear Jivat,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th December, I am glad to know that the report appearing in the Press was incorrect. Many of us were disturbed by it. As, however, this report has appeared, I think it would be desirable for you to contradict it.

Many of us have been deeply shocked by the support given by Asoka Mehta and Goray to Master Tara Singh's Akali Dal and his demand for a Panjabi Suba.⁴⁷ It has seemed to me quite extraordinary that the P.S.P. leaders should associate themselves with a communal organisation and a communal demand which can do great harm. This demand would have been bad enough at any time, but, at the present juncture, it is doubly so.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

45. Note, 28 December 1959.

46. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Independent.

47. Addressing the All India Akali Conference in Patiala on 6 December, Asoka Mehta supported the demand for a Punjabi State, adding that he favoured the creation of linguistic states. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 8 December 1959.

22. To G.B. Pant: The Karnal Murder Case and Kairon⁴⁸

December 9, 1959

My dear Pantji,

In this morning's papers, it was stated that I had summoned Partap Singh Kairon in connection with the Karnal Murder Case. Further that the Government of India had asked him not to prefer an appeal.

I have, of course, not summoned him at all for this or any other purpose and I have no intention of doing so unless some new development takes place. Also, so far as I know, we have not advised him not to prefer an appeal. You will remember that when we had a brief talk with him, he said that he would appeal, and we agreed with him.

There seems to be a deliberate attempt on the part of some newspapermen to get Partap Singh into trouble. There are some Assistant or Sub-Editors of newspapers from the Punjab who are constantly doing this.

I enclose a letter I have received.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

23. To G.B. Pant: Congress Concern over the Karnal Murder Case⁴⁹

December 13, 1959

My dear Pantji,

A day or two ago, I had a letter from the Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament⁵⁰ saying that some Members (I think Feroze Gandhi was one of them) wanted a discussion about the Punjab affairs in our Party. The Punjab affairs especially meant the judgment in the Karnal case⁵¹ and how it had affected

48. Letter.

49. Letter.

50. H.C. Heda.

51. On 12 November 1959, S. D. Singh, Special Additional Sessions Judge, acquitted D.S. Grewal, former Superintendent of Police, and nine other police officers of the charge of murdering Hazara Singh, Pyara Singh and Gian Singh of Samara Bahu on 14 July 1957, in the Karnal Triple Murder Case. The judge admitted that the deceased may have been guilty of murder but it was rumoured that the accused policemen had been ordered to protect them and their failure to do so led to Kairon's punitive action against them. See *The Tribune*, 14 November 1959.

the Chief Minister there. They wanted this discussion at the Party meeting tomorrow which is really fixed to consider the Report on Government enterprises, etc. I replied to Heda and said that this time will not be appropriate as we are discussing a special subject. I referred him to you.

I do not know if he has been to you. Obviously we cannot discuss it tomorrow, but the question arises whether we should discuss it in the future at a Party meeting. It does not seem to me very appropriate to do so, although normally I do not wish to come in the way of any discussion. Apart from other reasons, the Karnal case is likely to go up in appeal.

Perhaps you could send for Heda and others concerned and have a talk with them on this subject.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

24. To Partap Singh Kairon: Kairon and Dissidence⁵²

December 16, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

The judgment in the Karnal Murder Case,⁵³ which I have not seen yet, had created a considerable disturbance in the public mind. An attempt was made to raise this question in the House and later in our Party. We managed to get over it. But it is difficult to deal with the judgment, however wrong it might be. I do not know what you have decided about an appeal, because much will depend upon that. In any event, I should like to have a copy of the judgment as soon as possible.

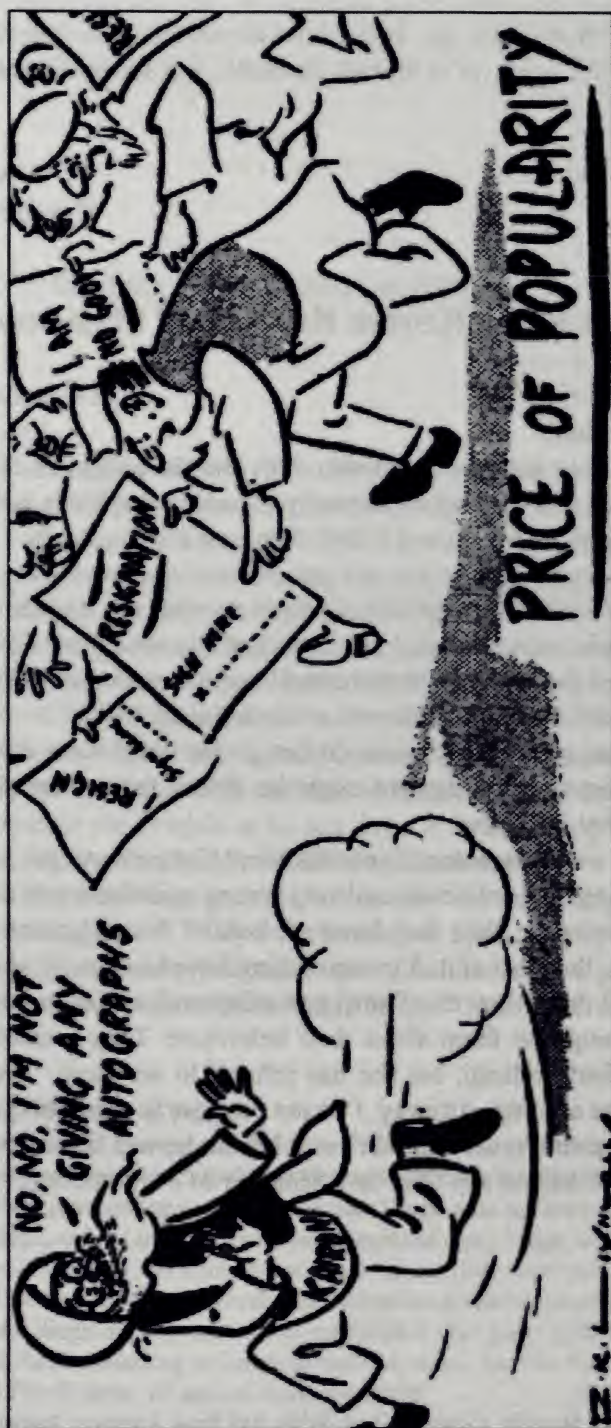
I am worried about the situation in the Punjab, all the opponents of the Congress as well as some people in the Congress who have been giving trouble, are now trying to create a furore. We may deal with some of them in the normal course, but the main point is how to deal with this situation, and I should like your advice in this matter.

Some MPs have come to me complaining about you. I have naturally given them my own views and told them how you have met very difficult situations with courage. The general complaint among these people seems to be of personal

52. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

53. See item 23.

[Celebrity Kairon]



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 27 DECEMBER 1959)

ill-treatment of them. I do not know how far this is true, but the personal element counts for a lot. It is always desirable not to produce a feeling of personal ill-will.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

25. To Partap Singh Kairon: Kairon and Dissidence⁵⁴

December 20, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have received your letter of December 19th and the judgment of the Karnal case.⁵⁵ I am afraid it is beyond my capacity to read through this judgment. But I shall look through parts of it and I shall then pass it on to Pantji. I understood from him this morning that he had not yet received a copy of this judgment.

As I have not read the judgment, I cannot express any opinion. But I must say that the various accounts that have reached me about this Grewal matter had made me feel fairly sure that there had been no encounter with the police. Pantji also felt that way and I believe he is convinced of that.

However, our personal opinions do not go far when there is a judgment, however misdirected that judgment might be. *Prima facie*, there should be an appeal against that judgment.

I know very well how some of your dissident Congress people in the Punjab have been carrying on a deliberate and very wrong agitation against you. I have told them so frequently. Now they have got hold of this judgment and will no doubt try to make the most of it. A group of them have been going about meeting Congress MPs. I think they met Pantji yesterday and, so far as I know, Pantji spoke rather strongly to them about their behaviour. They wanted to see the Congress President, Indiraji, but she has refused to see them. They have not approached me as a group. Anyway, I do not propose to meet this group. Some days ago I had agreed to see Musafir⁵⁶ and I think he will be coming to me on the 22nd. I do not like to say 'No' to a Member of Parliament if he wishes to see me.

54. Letter.

55. See Appendix 13.

56. Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Amritsar, Punjab.

What is annoying me especially is that when anyone of these comes to see me a report appears in the Press the next day.

Please keep me informed of developments.

Yours sincerely
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

26. To N.V. Gadgil: Dissidence in Punjab⁵⁷

Anand Bhawan, Allahabad
December 25, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

I have been wanting to write to you for some time past about some of the internal affairs of the Punjab and, more especially, of the Congress Party in the Punjab. I have been astonished at the way the so-called Dissidents of the Punjab Legislature Congress Party have been behaving. Partap Singh Kairon is not a model of all the virtues and one can easily find fault with something or other that he may have done. But he has certain virtues which are outstanding. He is a tremendous and, I think, conscientious worker. He is tough in his own way and does not easily get frightened. He is absolutely non-communal and broadly he has the correct views. I have sometimes not liked what he has done, but, in the balance, I have a fairly high opinion of him. I doubt if anyone else could have held together the Punjab as he has done in spite of opposition from the Akalis, Communists, Jan Sangh and his own dissidents.⁵⁸

So far as the dissidents are concerned, they are not a bright lot from the point of view of any work. They only flourish in criticising.

The recent Karnal case judgment has, of course, been a godsend to these Dissidents and all those who dislike Partap Singh.⁵⁹ I have not read the judgment

57. Letter to the Governor of Punjab.

58. For the most recent documents on this, see SWJN/SS/54/pp. 297-300.

59. The opposition groups and dissidents demanded Kairon's resignation because he had been protecting, according to them, one Hazara Singh, who had been murdered in Karnal. Hazara Singh, and his accomplices, Pyara Singh and Gyan Singh, were wanted in a case of murder at Ruksana and a robbery at Kambohpur. They were shot in an encounter in 1958. All the accused were however acquitted and no precise connection between Kairon and Hazara Singh and associates was established. But party politics were extremely fluid, with Akalis defecting to Congress and vice versa. See *The Pioneer*, 13 November 1959 and *The Tribune*, 13 and 14 November 1959.

although I have received a copy. It is of enormous length. I shall look through it sometime or other. I can, therefore, express no opinion about it at this stage. But it may interest you to know, if I have not told you of this already, that it was largely at my instance and Pantji's that the Karnal case was started. I received so many complaints from a variety of sources (not Partap Singh) that the police had bumped off these dacoits without any encounter that I wrote to Partap Singh on the subject. Punjab police had some such reputation even previously.⁶⁰ The dacoits in question deserved any punishment, including death, but I felt that it was not at all a good thing for the police to take the law into their own hands. If we once permit that, then there can be no controlling of the police. Feeling this, I wrote to Partap Singh that when there was this widespread impression, a full enquiry should be made and further action taken if necessary. Pantji agreed with this. Thereafter, apparently, Partap Singh had some enquiry of his own and he wrote to me that he had come to the conclusion that the charge made against the Police in this case was true.

Even after the Karnal case judgment, some people from the Punjab, who are no friends of Partap Singh, have told me that they are convinced that there was no encounter at all and the police shot down these dacoits simply because they wanted to do so.

I thought I would let you know about this. A group of these Congress dissidents have been wandering about Delhi. They did not get any encouragement from Pantji. They did not come to me at all, perhaps because they felt that I would not humour them. One thing that has particularly annoyed me is that whenever anyone of these persons has come to see me in the past, immediately a long account appears in the press.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

60. See SWJN/SS/39/pp. 393-394 and SWJN/SS/40/p. 324.

(vii) Uttar Pradesh

27. To Bhakt Darshan: Border Roads near Badrinath⁶¹

December 3, 1959

My dear Bhakt Darshan,
Your letter of December 2nd.⁶²

The question of border roads has been carefully examined chiefly from the defence point of view. The roads to which priority is given will be proceeded with as rapidly as possible. As far as I can gather, the roads from Joshimath to Niti Village and between Badrinath and Mana Village are being given priority. It is not at present proposed to take up the roads right up to the passes for reasons of defence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. To V.N. Sharma: Residential Land Reorganisation and Valuation⁶³

Anand Bhawan, Allahabad
December 25, 1959

My dear Vichitra,
During my stay in Allahabad, I have had a deputation from some of the house owners here. During my last visit too they had come to me and I have a vague idea that I wrote to Sampurnanandji on the subject. Anyhow, they have come to me again and given me a note which I attach.

Obviously it is not for me to go deeply into this matter and form a firm opinion. But, in talking to them and reading this note, as well as discussing this matter with the district authorities here, it does seem to me that the proposals of your Government about this land and buildings in Allahabad are very severe and many of them are wholly incapable of meeting the demands made upon

61. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress. File No.2 (242)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

62. Bhakt Darshan had complained of poor roads in the region, and described the experiences of Indian traders.

63. Letter.

them. It is true, I think, that they have had this land at a very low rate for a long time in the past. I suppose that the land has changed hands on many occasions.

The point now is as to what, in equity, we can ask them to pay. If it is entirely beyond their capacity, then this will not do any good to the State or to them. This has nothing to do with a socialistic pattern of society, broadly speaking.

It is, I think, necessary to split up these large compounds which we find in Allahabad. The day of large compounds is long past. It would be completely right to take away all the additional lands from them, leaving just enough for the house and a little more. More or less that is how plots are given in Delhi now. It would also be right to increase the payment of amount for the lease.

I suppose it is inevitable that whatever you charge from them will be passed on to the person who occupies the house and pays rent.

As I have said above, I am not really competent to pass an opinion without going much deeper into this matter. But I have felt that the demands now being made upon them are excessive and not practical. I would like you to consider all aspects of this matter afresh.

As I had once written to Sampurnanandji on this subject, I am sending a copy of this letter to him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(viii) West Bengal

29. To B.C. Roy: Banning the Communist Party⁶⁴

December 2, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of November 30th.

We are naturally following carefully the activities of the Communist Party, more especially in regard to our border troubles. It is clear that their attitude has reacted very much against them in the public mind. They have a difficult choice to face and it is because of this that they are greatly troubled and even

64. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Also available in Saroj Chakrabarty (ed) *With Dr. B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers: A Record upto 1962* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974) pp. 436-437.

internally they are pulling in different directions. On the one hand, they can stick to their so-called internationalist policy and support, directly or indirectly, China, or they have to come out more openly in condemnation of Chinese aggression.

If they follow the former course, they condemn themselves in the eyes of the Indian public. If they follow the second course, then, to some extent, they undermine themselves from the Communist point of view. Even that is not likely to do them much good.

I think it would be very unwise for us at this stage to ban the Communist Party. That in effect will get them out of this dilemma and they will gain a measure of public sympathy. Also the international consequences of this will be harmful to India.

But there is no reason why individuals breaking the law by speech or otherwise should not be proceeded against. We might be stricter about processions also.

I shall be meeting you on the 6th December at Panchet hill.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

(c) Sikkim

30. To Tashi Namgyal: Border Issues⁶⁵

December 3, 1959

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th November.

Recently I have spoken twice in our Lok Sabha about the occurrences on our frontiers and the aggression of the Chinese forces.⁶⁶ In these speeches I have made it clear what India's policy is and that while we are devoted to peace and peaceful methods and shall continue to strive for them, we cannot tolerate aggression. In this connection, we are fully committed to the protection of Sikkim if danger arises there and Your Highness can rest assured that we shall honour this commitment.

65. Letter to the Maharaja of Sikkim.

66. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 499-507 and pp. 509-531.

Although the situation on our borders is naturally a matter of concern to us, as it is to Your Highness, I do not think that there is any necessity to be alarmed. But it is certainly necessary to take all possible steps to be fully prepared for any emergencies that might arise. We propose to do so. I welcome Your Highness assurance of your full cooperation.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Administration
(i) General

31. To Ahmed Mohiuddin: Reinvesting Funds of the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Trust⁶⁷

December 1, 1959

My dear Mohiuddin,

The deposit receipt for rupees four lakhs and twenty-five thousand in the accounts of the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Trust matured on the 28th November, 1959. Normally this should have been renewed, as delay means, I suppose, some loss of interest. I gather, however, that you recommended that this money should be realised and that U.P. Zamindari Abolition Compensation Bonds should be purchased.

I rather doubt if this proposal to buy the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Compensation Bonds is feasible.⁶⁸ Indeed, we consulted the Bank of India Limited on this subject some four years ago, and their advice was that any such acceptance of such Bonds would not be correct or within the rules etc. applying to Trust funds. In fact, some such bonds were sent to us as a donation by the Raja of Bhadri and, because of this objection, we were unable to accept them.

67. Letter to the Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation.

68. The UP Zamindari Abolition Bonds had been misused by the Banaras Hindu University. In the Lok Sabha in August 1959, questions were raised regarding the legitimacy of investments made by BHU in these bonds allegedly belonging to the University treasurer Jyoti Bhushan Gupta. Investigations were underway when Nehru wrote this letter.

If there is any doubt about the permissibility under the law of the Memorial Trust investing funds in these Bonds, then we should not take them.

I think that the money should continue to be invested in short deposit.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

32. To G.P. Hutheesing: Funds for Krishna Hutheesing's Treatment⁶⁹

December 1, 1959

My dear Raja,

I have just received your letter of the 30th November. I am much concerned about Krishna's health. I think you are right in suggesting to her to come to Europe for a proper diagnosis and, if necessary, treatment.

I understand that the Finance Ministry is dealing with the question of foreign exchange. It has just struck me that I have some royalty money lying in London. I do not quite know the rules governing such matters. But I suppose there will be no difficulty in my passing some money on to Krishna. I could place one hundred pounds at her disposal. I am enquiring as to how this is to be done, as, naturally, I want to follow our rules on the subject.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

33. To Asoke Sen: A.P. Jain⁷⁰

December 7, 1959

My dear Asoke,

Ajit Prasad Jain has accepted the chairmanship of the Police Commission set up by the Uttar Pradesh Government. This is not a permanent body but is meant to examine the present working of the police and to suggest measures for reorganisation, welfare activities, etc. It is not a whole time work. It means the

69. Letter.

70. Letter to the Law Minister.

Commission meeting occasionally, visiting some places and reporting. I take it that he will not be paid anything for it except travelling allowance etc.

He has asked me whether this will come in the way of his membership of the Lok Sabha. He wants, of course, to continue as member of the Lok Sabha. So far as I can see, there should be no difficulty, but please let me know what you think about it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

34. To C.P.N. Singh: Stay On in Tokyo⁷¹

December 8, 1959

My dear CPN,

I received your letter of the 28th November a few days ago. Thank you for it.

In view of your health I cannot obviously press you to stay on in Tokyo which does not suit you. That is why I had agreed to your coming here on leave for three months. You now point out that this will not suit you and that you would like to retire from the post. I am sorry about this, but if you so wish it, I have little choice in the matter.

N.R. Pillai says that you want to come back fairly soon, about the third or fourth week of December. If it is possible for you, I would like you to stay on there for a few weeks more and come back here about the third week of January.

There is no end to our troubles here. Our normal lot was bad enough, and now we have to face the border troubles with China, I have found no time to write my normal Fortnightly Letters even though I have much to say. Tomorrow President Eisenhower arrives here.

All good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

71. Letter to the Indian Ambassador to Japan. Copied to N.R. Pillai.

35. To Sampurnanand: Central Pay Commission⁷²

December 12, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have just received your letter of December 11th about the Central Pay Commission's recommendations. The points you have raised in your letter are clearly important and I can well understand your perturbation over the matter. We have had all these facts before us but, in the circumstances, it was not possible for us to reject the recommendations by a high-powered commission appointed by us.⁷³ We were thus driven by the compulsion of events to accept

[Pay Commission's Generosity]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 3 DECEMBER 1959)

72. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. Copied to Morarji Desai.
73. Recommendations of the Jagannadha Das Commission were subject to severe criticism. Contentious parts pertaining to a cut-back on holidays, making Saturday a full working day, compulsory Provident Fund and discrimination in emolument of Class I employees and the rest of the workforce, invited the ire of opposition members, especially T.C.N. Menon (CPI) and Nath Pai (PSP). See *The Hindu*, 17 December 1959.

[Congress Leaders Celebrating the Pay Commission Award]

Uskering the New Era



The Government of India have accepted the major recommendations of the Pay Commission.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 6 DECEMBER 1959

[Tied Up by the Pay Commission]

Political Who's What



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 6 DECEMBER 1959)

those recommendations. The main recommendation, of course, is about the increase of Rs. 5/- per month in the pay of a large category of government employees in the lower scales.

Having accepted these, we have to face the consequences. Not having accepted them would have led to graver consequences.

All I can say is that we shall have to keep all these matters in view and do our best in the circumstances. I am sending your letter to our Finance Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

36. To CPN Singh: Eisenhower Visit ⁷⁴

December 18, 1959

My dear CPN,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th December. It is true that President Eisenhower had an amazingly warm welcome in Delhi and he was much impressed by it.

I would, of course, like you to stay on in Tokyo as long as you can. Certainly it would be better for you to observe the 26th of January there. You can come here at your convenience after that, say early in February.

President Eisenhower has gone, but this evening the Prime Minister of Sweden ⁷⁵ as arrived here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. Letter. Copied to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt, and B.N. Chakravarty.

75. Tage Erlander visited India from 18 to 30 December 1959.

37. To Rajendra Prasad: Special Police Establishment⁷⁶

December 21, 1959

My dear Rajen Babu,

I spoke to you this morning about reports of the Special Police Establishment.⁷⁷ These reports are sent to me monthly. They are abstracts of what they have done in the course of the month. I am sending you a number of these from January to November 1959. Summaries of these are sent to the press.

In cases where enquiries are being made, the information is treated as confidential, as otherwise the enquiries might be affected.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

38. To H.L. Masurkar: P.S. Deshmukh⁷⁸

December 28, 1959

Dear Shri Masurkar,

Your letter of December 25th. You know that we came to a decision that no member of Government should accept office in organisations of the kind you have mentioned. This decision was taken many months ago. However, to suit the convenience of Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, I agreed that he might resign from his Chairmanship after a little time.⁷⁹ More than the time I expected has already lapsed and we find this rather embarrassing. However, as I do not wish to create difficulties, I would suggest that at the latest a new election should take place by the end of February. Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh might send his resignation and this may be kept pending till the election sometime in February.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

76. Letter.

77. For Special Police Establishment, see SWJN/SS/40/p. 319.

78. Letter to a Member of the former Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly.

79. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 136-137.

39. To G. Ramachandran: Pyarelal⁸⁰

December 29, 1959

My dear Ramachandran,

After I left the meeting of the trustees this morning, I gave some more thought to the question of Pyarelal undertaking his task. On the whole, it seems to me that it is not necessary to have a regular contract. Normally this is not done though of course sometimes this is preferred. You get all the advantages of a contract by an exchange of precise letters. It is of course necessary to have precision about this matter in order to avoid future controversies and difficulties. All that you have said in the draft agreement may be said in these letters with such variations as are considered necessary. I do not think there will be any real difficulty with Pyarelal.

You might consult Shri Diwakarji about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. To D.P. Karmarkar: Dr Khanolkar⁸¹

December 29, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I am writing to you about Dr. Khanolkar.⁸² I have heard, rather vaguely, that the Health Ministry has decided to retire him. Also, that when the W.H.O. asked for the services of Dr. Khanolkar to serve in an Advisory Committee, this was refused. What exactly has happened and why?

Dr. Khanolkar is one of our ablest men with an international reputation. I have no doubt that any number of other countries would simply jump at engaging him. Why are we to lose the services of a man of his calibre, whose services we specially recognised a year or two ago by giving him one of our Republic Day awards?⁸³ I do think it will be a great pity if India loses his services.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

80. Letter to the Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. File No. 2(265)/58-64-PMS.

81. Letter to the Minister of Health.

82. Dr. Vasant Ramji Khanolkar was Director at the Indian Cancer Research Centre, Bombay, from 1952-1963.

83. He was awarded the Padma Shri in 1954.

(ii) Passport

41. To Asoka Mehta: Negotiating with the Italian Government⁸⁴

December 5, 1959

Dear Asoka,

On December 2nd you sent me a copy of a letter from Mrs. Darina Silone⁸⁵ from Rome. In this letter she points out that a number of persons, presumably Indians, are kept in a camp in Italy and the condition of the camps is very bad.

We have been much worried and concerned about this matter.⁸⁶ As you know, there has been wholesale fabrication of false passports and these people got into trouble in England, in France and in Italy. The British Government sent back to India those who did not have proper passports. The British Government at their own cost sent back these people to India and we are dealing with them here now.

The Italian Government refused either to admit them or to leave them free to go out of Italy. They wanted us to arrange for their return to India at our cost.

This raises several issues. First of all we are not at all sure that all of them or many of them are Indian nationals even though they might be people of Indian descent. Some apparently have gone from Singapore and other places. But the main difficulty has been that the Italian Government has refused to shoulder the burden of sending them back as the British Government did. We have informed the Italian Government that under international law it is their business to deal with them and send them back at their own cost. If we do not take a firm line in this matter, we shall create a precedent which will be harmful and opposed to normal practice.

We are addressing the Italian Government again.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

84. Letter to the Chairman, PSP.

85. Wife of Ignazio Silone, Italian novelist and a founder of the Italian Communist Party.

86. The matter was debated in the Rajya Sabha on 26 November 1959, where Nehru made these points.

42. To Ansaruddin Ahmad: Visas and Pakistan⁸⁷

December 8, 1959

Dear Mr. Ansaruddin Ahmad,

I have your letter of 7th December. I have tried many times to get this Visa system modified and liberalised, but all kinds of difficulties arise and it has seldom been possible to get an agreement with Pakistan.⁸⁸ I shall have this matter examined again, more especially the points you have mentioned. It may not be possible at this stage to make all the changes that you have suggested, but I do hope that some liberalisation will be possible.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(iii) Corruption

43. To Krishna Menon: Jeep Case⁸⁹

December 7, 1959

My dear Krishna,

Every few days I get the file of the jeep case. I try to understand what is happening, but I find it very difficult to say anything worthwhile or give any advice about it. I appreciate your difficulty in the matter and your wish not to note on these files. You need not do so. But, after all, you know more about it than I do, and you might at least give a hint to me as to what the proper course would be. We are entangled in this, and we have to deal with it as best as we can.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

87. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress.

88. The visa regime was discussed in the Rajya Sabha on 26 November 1959.

89. Letter to the Defence Minister.

44. To C.D. Deshmukh: Inquiry Tribunal Proposal⁹⁰

December 7, 1959

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of today's date.⁹¹ I can quite understand your wish to protect or not to jeopardise the security of any officer. All I wanted was information about the actual cases you might have in mind, with such details as you could give, to enable me to try to trace these cases. This was entirely to satisfy myself and, perhaps, consult one or two of my colleagues.

I receive frequently, letters of complaint about Ministers or officials. Whenever such a complaint has come, I have tried to find out confidentially from such sources as were open to me, what the facts were. Some of these cases have been gone into rather thoroughly and have even been discussed in State Assemblies. Some action also has been taken occasionally. But, generally, I have found on enquiry that very vague charges are made, often without any substance, it is quite possible that some of the charges you have mentioned may have some truth in them. But the habit of making charges without any or very little basis is fairly common in India.

I have great doubts about the advisability of having a Tribunal or a Commission with wide terms of reference to enquire into every odd charge that might reach them. I do not know if such a thing has been done in any country. Of course, any specific charge, if it appears to have any substance, should certainly be enquired into.

I do not know if you would care to mention to me confidentially a few particular cases that you have in mind.⁹²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

90. Letter to the Chairman, UGC. File No. 81, C. D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

91. See Appendix 5.

92. This refers to Deshmukh's proposal at Ooty for a tribunal to investigate misdemeanours. He wrote to Nehru on 8 December 1959 explaining why he was unwilling to pass on information about any officer unless it was to such a tribunal: (i) he did not know what Nehru considered appropriate; (ii) with the passage of time, the matter might seem not worth the effort; and (iii) in any case the concerned officers have to agree, which they would not without formal rules. Only a regular commission or tribunal could handle such matters; ad hoc inquiries might result in misuse of powers, and he cited an instance from Madurai.

45. To Rajendra Prasad: Corruption⁹³

December 7, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

You were good enough to write to me some days ago on the subject of appointing a tribunal to consider charges made against Ministers, etc.⁹⁴ You mentioned in your letter that C.D. Deshmukh and V.P. Menon had referred to cases of corruption among Ministers.

Soon after receiving your letter, I wrote to both Deshmukh and V.P. Menon requesting them to let me have some particulars about the cases they had in mind. Deshmukh has replied to say that he is unable to mention any case to me as this might jeopardise the security of the officers who had mentioned these to him. He has not given me any cases, but he has sent me a list of the type of corruption indulged in by various persons.⁹⁵ I have written to him again, and I enclose a copy of my letter.

V.P. Menon replied that the only case he could remember was that of Narbada Prasad Singh who was at one time a Minister of the old Vindhya Pradesh Government some eleven years ago. For the rest, he says that a reference to old files might give us the information. I have again requested him to give us a little more precise information so that we can pursue this matter.

As for Narbada Prasad Singh, a case was launched against him about nine or ten years ago for insurance frauds. He absconded, and ever since then he has not been traced.

I see a detailed reference in one of the newspapers this morning to your letter to me on this subject. I have no doubt that there will be Questions in Parliament. This publicity to your letters to me is very unfortunate and embarrassing.⁹⁶ I do not quite know how this can be avoided. Perhaps in the future you will be good enough to send for me and speak to me on any subject in your mind.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

93. Letter.

94. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 328.

95. See Appendix 5.

96. See item 46.

46. To G.B. Pant: President's Letters Leaked⁹⁷

December 8, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I have received, as I expected, several Questions from the Lok Sabha in connection with the President's letter to me about the appointment of a high powered tribunal for investigations. I am not accepting a Short Notice question, but I propose to answer an ordinary question as follows:-

"It is not usual or proper for the President's confidential communications to the Prime Minister to be published or to be discussed in Parliament.

2. It may be stated, however, that the President had drawn the attention of the Prime Minister to a statement made by Shri C.D. Deshmukh in one of his V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Memorial Lectures at the Madras University delivered in July 1959. He had also referred to a statement made by Shri V. P. Menon.

3. Any suggestion or reference by the President is necessarily always considered with care. His letter, however, was not placed before the Cabinet."

I have received reliable information that a number of leakages which have recently occurred took place from the President's Secretariat through a newspaperman whom we all know fairly well. On one occasion, one of my Fortnightly Letters was published in extenso in the Times of India. This went through the same channel. After that, extracts from official documents have not been published, but the substance of important decisions taken by the Cabinet or other important communications have appeared in the Hindustan Times on the very next day.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

47. To G. B. Pant: V. P. Menon on Corruption⁹⁸

I mentioned to you about my enquiry from Shri V.P. Menon in regard to the allegation he had made. My P.P.S. saw him today and I give below the note he has put up before me:

"As desired by PM, I spoke to Shri V.P. Menon about this matter and asked him if he could give us further details of the cases which he had in mind. Shri

97. Letter.

98. Note, 8 December 1959.

Menon said that it was very difficult for him to recollect the names of the persons concerned after the lapse of nearly ten years. But, as far as he could remember, there were four persons against whom prosecutions had been launched after proper enquiries. These were Mathradas Mathur, Kumbha Ram, Damodar Pershad and Chhurat.

The case against Shri Narbada Prasad Singh was of a very serious nature and it was alleged that he had sold a large quantity of Government timber and made a lot of money out of it. He had also used nearly 12,000 gallons of Government petrol on his farm.

Shri Menon said that the then Minister of Home Affairs, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, had issued orders that all the prosecutions should be withdrawn because, he said, that if these cases were proceeded with, it would bring Government into disrepute.

Shri Menon suggested that we might obtain the relevant files from the Ministry of Home Affairs.

I also had a talk with Shri Viswanathan, Special Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, who told me that he had already put up a note on the subject to the Home Minister and that he would send me the file with a copy of the note. I shall submit it to PM, as soon as it is received.”⁹⁹

48. To Rajendra Prasad: Action Against Corruption¹⁰⁰

December 18, 1959

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of December 18.¹⁰¹

Soon after I spoke to you last, I had a talk with our Home Minister, Pantji, and told him what you had said to me. That is, I suggested to him to try to find

99. Kesho Ram wrote to Viswanathan on 12 December 1959 seeking further information on the charges against the Ministers Jai Narain Vyas, Dwarka Das Purohit, Mathra Das Mathur, Manikyalal Verma and Mohanlal Sukhadia. He also wished to know the names of the Home Minister and Home Secretary at that time.

100. Letter.

101. Rajendra Prasad was unhappy that Nehru was not more energetic: he wanted the corruption cases to be pursued more vigorously and immunity to be provided to informants. He was worried that acceding to Nehru's request for personal meetings might result in unwanted publicity, set wrong precedents, as also "stultify" the performance of his Constitutional duties. Therefore he preferred written communications. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed) *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. XIX (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Ltd, 1993), pp.172-173.

out what the cases might be to which Deshmukh had referred in his letter. I shall remind him of this again.

When I suggested to you that it might be preferable for you to send for me and tell me what you have in mind rather than writing to me, there was no question of my suggestion coming in the way of your performing your Constitutional duty. Obviously you can write to me when you feel like it, and I shall welcome any criticisms or suggestions which you might be pleased to make. My principal concern was that letters which you may send me or which I may send you should not find their way to the press. Lately, on two occasions, important letters which you had sent me appeared in the press. It is most unfortunate that this happened, and this kind of thing is obviously harmful and not in the public interest. So far as I am concerned, I am keeping all the letters myself and not sending them even to my office.

It is, I believe, the normal practice in England and probably elsewhere for the Head of the State to discuss matters personally with his Ministers. Formal or semi-formal letters are very seldom written. That does not mean that they cannot or should not be written. It is obviously for you to judge when you should write to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. To G.B. Pant: Note on President's Reply¹⁰²

December 18, 1959

My dear Pantji,

The President has sent me a letter expressing his disappointment at our lack of vigilance in tracing cases of corruption when enough indications are given to us. He thinks that Deshmukh has given enough details of cases for us to trace them and further that we should give immunity to informants against vindictive action.

At my last meeting with him, I had ventured to suggest to him that, in view of leakages occurring, it would be perhaps better for him to send for me when he wanted to convey any message. In his present letter he expresses his disapproval of this suggestion and considers it as something which will stultify him in performing his constitutional duty to bring to the notice of Government

102. Letter.

any matter which he desires to communicate to it in the way he considers best.
I have sent him a reply, copy of which I enclose.

Yours affectionately
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

50. To Lakshmi N. Menon: Purpose of a Tribunal¹⁰³

December 29, 1959

My dear Lakshmi,

Your letter of the 29th December.

Evidently people have not understood what the proposal to appoint a tribunal means. The proposal is not to enquire into any specific matter, but to enquire into any complaints that may come to them from time to time against any Minister, Central or State. This is a very extraordinary proposal which, so far as I know, has never been put forward in any country. In India, where people are peculiarly in the habit of making charges, the tribunal will be flooded with charges against almost every Minister in India. The country will hardly be able to think of anything but of these charges made.

It is quite a different thing when a specific charge, with some *prima facie* proof, is made. That certainly can be enquired into, if necessary by a tribunal or otherwise.

I wrote to C.D. Deshmukh to let me have some particulars about any cases he might have in mind.¹⁰⁴ He said he was [not] prepared to do so, as the people who gave him the information might get into trouble. If, however, a tribunal was appointed, and a guarantee was given that no person bringing a charge will get into trouble, then he would place the matter before the tribunal, I wrote to him again that he need not tell me who his informants were, but he might at least give me some facts of the charge and against whom it was. Even this, he refused to do. He sent me a list of the types of charges that are brought. When we asked our Special Police, they said that it was impossible for them to conduct enquiries all over India without some reference to the person concerned.

V.P. Menon had also mentioned some cases. On enquiry from him, he referred to something that happened nine years ago about Vindhya Pradesh or Rajasthan Ministers. Oddly enough, at the time, the Ministry dealing with them

103. Letter to the Deputy Minister, Ministry of External Affairs.

104. See item 44.

was under V.P. Menon's charge as Secretary. The cases were started and then the advice of our Law Ministry was that there was not enough substance in them. Another case related to Jainarain Vyas, who has stated the facts publicly in answer to V.P. Menon. The third was against Narbada Prasad Singh who was also involved in an insurance scandal. He absconded for several years, was arrested and sentenced to some years' imprisonment. I believe he has recently been released.

V.P. Menon, in spite of every effort of ours, has been unable to give us any further particulars.

It is quite extraordinary. Our people make wild charges and then are not prepared to help us in investigating them. I see no reason whatever for appointing an inquisitorial tribunal to roam about India in search of charges. All government would be made impossible, if that was done.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(e) Social Groups

51. To Indira Gandhi: Zohra Ansari in Allahabad¹⁰⁵

Zohra Ansari¹⁰⁶ went to Allahabad with my approval, to work quietly among the Muslims there, to remove communal tensions and misunderstanding. She writes to me that she is having no help at all from the Congress or from the Jamait-ul-Ulema. Why, I do not know. She is a good quiet worker, and I think she should be helped. I suggest that the A.I.C.C. office might write to the Allahabad District and City Congress Committees and ask them to cooperate with her and help her in this work.¹⁰⁷

She stays or has her office in Swaraj Bhavan.

105. Note to the Congress President, 9 December 1959. AICC Papers, File No. P-14/ (ii)/ 1959, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

106. Daughter of M.A. Ansari.

107. Nehru wrote the same day to Kamalapati Tripathi asking him to ensure better working opportunities to Zohra Ansari in Allahabad. He emphasized that this did not imply funding.

52. To K. N. Katju: Jhabua DCC ¹⁰⁸

December 13, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

I am enclosing a letter in original that I have received from the Jhabua District Congress Committee. In fact, this letter was sent to me in November last when I went to Indore. These people wanted to meet me there, but apparently I had no time to give them an interview. Also my attention was not drawn to the fact that they were waiting for me. Otherwise, I would have seen them for a few minutes and that might have been some consolation to them.

They are anxious that I should go to Jhabua. I am afraid that is not possible for some time to come. But I have always felt somewhat attached to these Adivasis who are so poor and who require so much help from us. I shall try some time in the future to go there. I am informing them of this, though I cannot fix a date. In any event, I cannot go till February or March at the earliest.

In the letter and in another paper attached to it, there is an account given of what are called police atrocities. If even a part of this is true, then this is a bad case which deserves enquiry and action. They ask for a Commission of Enquiry. That is too complicated a process.

I would like you, however, to think about this matter and see if anything can be done. Possibly a really good officer can be sent to enquire and report without any fuss. Possibly also an independent and competent Police Superintendent can be posted there with specific instructions.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. To Kesho Ram: Jhabua DCC ¹⁰⁹

With reference to the attached papers, I have written to Dr. Katju.

2. I should like you to write in Hindi to Shri Kanhaiyalal Vaidya, President, District Congress Committee, Jhabua, Madhya Pradesh. Tell them that I have seen their letter to me and to Indiraji. I am very sorry I could not meet them in Indore when I went there. As my time was very limited in Indore and I was fully occupied, I had sent word that I would not be able to give interviews.

108. Letter. File No. F3/170/59/60H-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

109. Note, 13 December 1959. File No. F3/170/59/60H-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

However, if I had known that they were waiting outside at my place of residence, I would have seen them for a few minutes.

3. As for my going to Jhabua, I would much like to go there, but it is not possible for me to arrange a visit in the next two months or more. Whenever I can manage to go there, I shall certainly do so.

4. As for their complaints against the police, I am enquiring about these.

54. To Durgabai Deshmukh: Youth to Work for Welfare¹¹⁰

December 28, 1959

My dear Durgabai,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th December and the report of the Working Group on Social Welfare. The various proposals you have made, are no doubt good. But, always, there is a question of priorities and choice. We are going to have a very difficult time during the next few years. The strains and stresses on us are going to be very great. Then there is a question of additional emphasis on defence because of the new border situation.

As you know, I attach a great deal of importance to social welfare. Also, I think that this must be largely attended to by voluntary agencies. But, ultimately, social welfare depends on advance in many fields and thus creating fresh resources.

I do not personally fancy the type of so-called youth programmes that are mentioned, such as, youth camps. I think it would be far better for us to give these young men, and possibly women also, a little bit of compulsory training, including work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

110. Letter to the Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board. File No. 17(19)/57-60-PMS, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

(f) Language

55. To Mohan Swarup: Use of Hindi¹¹¹

दिसम्बर 1, 1959

प्रिय मोहन स्वरूपजी,

आपका 11 नवम्बर का पत्र मुझे कुछ दिन हुए मिला था। जवाब देने में देरी हुई, माफ कीजिएगा। हिन्दी के बारे में जो आपने लिखा है वह कुछ सही है। लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ हिन्दी का उपयोग काफी बढ़ रहा है। असल कठिनाई यह है कि हमारे दफ्तरों में बहुत सारे ऐसे लोग हैं, ऊपर से नीचे तक, जो हिन्दी नहीं जानते या कम जानते हैं। बहुत सारे लोग उन प्रदेशों से हैं जहाँ की बोली हिन्दी नहीं है। इन लोगों को पूरीतौर से हिन्दी पढ़ा देना असम्भव है।

आपने खुद देखा होगा कि अभी तक लोक सभा में कितना अधिक अंग्रेजी में काम होता है। यह एकमजबूरी है। और इस बात का भी हमें विचार रखना होता है कि हिन्दी बढ़ाने की कोशिश में हम भारत के बहुत से हिस्सों के लोगों को नाराज़ न कर दें। उससे हिन्दी को और हानि होगी। जो हिन्दी बोलने वाले प्रदेश हैं वहाँ तो हिन्दी ज़ोरों से बढ़ रही है। लेकिन केन्द्रीय दफ्तरों में उसका बढ़ना धीरे-धीरे ही हो सकता है।

आपका

[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

December 1, 1959

Dear Mohan Swarupji,

Received your letter of 11 November some days back. Forgive me for the delay in replying. What you have said about Hindi is to some extent correct. But at the same time, Hindi is increasingly being used. The real problem lies in our offices where many people, across all levels, do not know Hindi or know very little of it. Many belong to states where Hindi is not the spoken language. It is impossible to teach them Hindi fully.

You must have seen for yourself how, much of the proceedings of the Lok Sabha are carried out in English. This is a necessity. We also need to keep in mind that our attempts to promote Hindi should not offend people from different regions of India. That would be detrimental to Hindi. Hindi is making rapid

111. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

progress in the Hindi speaking states. However, in the Central Government its progress will be gradual.

Yours,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends.]

56. To G.B. Pant: Report on Official Language ¹¹²

December 28, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of December 28, with which you have sent me a copy of the President's letter on the report on official language.¹¹³

I do not quite agree with the President's interpretation of the Committee's report or, rather, the steps which he has suggested, some of which, I think, are impracticable.

When we say that English will be an additional language, it does not mean that it will continue to be used only for special or specific purposes. It may be used for any purpose as an additional language, though, of course, our continuous attempt will be to increase the use of Hindi. To expect the day-to-day work of the Central Secretariat to be carried on in Hindi five years from now is, I think, not at all practicable. It is not merely a question of translation of rules and

112. Letter. File No. 52(13)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

113. The President had responded to the draft note on the Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language. The Parliamentary Committee under G.B. Pant recommended Hindi as the "principal official language of the Union" by 1965 as provided for in the Constitution, with English limited to situations specified by Parliament. Knowledge of Hindi was to be a qualification for government service, and serving officials were to be trained in Hindi. However, it assured full scope to regional languages in their respective States and local offices of the Central Government were urged to evolve a "measure of permanent bilingualism," that is, to use Hindi for internal working and the regional language for public dealing.

Rajendra Prasad responded to Pant's letter on 21 December 1959. He was concerned about the transition to Hindi in administrative routine, for which he proposed translation of rules and manuals, including these in the training curriculum, and appointing officers in each department to ensure work in Hindi. See also, Valmiki Choudhary (ed) *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. XIX (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Ltd, 1993), pp.174-175.

manuals, but of requiring the vast number of employees in the Secretariat to know enough Hindi to be able to do this. Merely to get a short course in Hindi is not enough. I do not see how it is possible for middle-aged people to go through this rather difficult course in a short time. I am referring especially to the non-Hindi speaking people.

As for compiling translations of rules, manuals and other procedural literature, this seems to me unnecessary. It will mean enormous labour and expenditure. In any event, the employees in the Central Secretariat are presumed to know English. What might be done, of course, is to introduce Hindi manuals and rules gradually. Any full use of these manuals will have to wait for a much longer period than five years, till practically a new set of people take the place of present ones.

I do not understand the President's proposal that there should be officers in each department detailed to see that Hindi is actually used in day-to-day work. Even now, I think that most of our departments have got Hindi translators. How can an officer go about telling people what notes they are to write in English and what in Hindi?

It has to be remembered also that in our communications to the non-Hindi speaking states, we shall inevitably have to continue English for some considerable time.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) Representative Institutions

57. To S. Radhakrishnan: Abul Kalam Azad's Portrait¹¹⁴

December 7, 1959

My dear Mr. Chairman,

You will remember that I wrote to you early in 1958 offering, on behalf of Members of Parliament, a portrait of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for the Central Hall of Parliament.¹¹⁵ This portrait is now ready.¹¹⁶ I understand that the 16th

114. Letter.

115. See SWJN/SS/41/p. 837.

116. On the same day, Nehru informed the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, also.

December at 5 P.M. has been fixed for the unveiling of this portrait, together with that of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

I might add that a very large number of Members of Parliament, belonging to all parties, have subscribed for this portrait.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

58. At Parliament House: Unveiling Portraits¹¹⁷

राष्ट्रपति जी, साथियो और दोस्तो,

हम और आप जो यहाँ आज जमा हुए हैं इस मौके पर तो मेरे सामने गुजरा जमाना आता है। इतिहास, पुराने इतिहास के कुछ पन्ने सामने आते हैं, बहुत कुछ तस्वीरें आँखों के सामने आती हैं और आपके भी आती होंगी। क्योंकि ऐसे मौके पर आज थोड़ी देर के लिए जिस जमाने में हम हैं, और उसकी मुश्किलों का सामना कर रहे हैं, उसको हम कुछ भूल सा जाते हैं, और एक-दूसरे युग में पहुँच जाते हैं, जब एक-दूसरे मैदान में हम सामना करते थे, जो कोई हमारा मुकाबला करते थे। तो अच्छा है कि कभी-कभी हम इस तरह से पीछे देखा करें और खासकर उन लोगों की याद करें जिन्होंने इस जमाने में, गुजरे हुए जमाने में, रास्ता हमें दिखाया, और एक मिसालें कायम की जो कि मुल्कों को जिन्दा रखती हैं। श्री विजय राघवाचार्य मुझे याद है, मैंने पहले दफे उनको देखा था, उसके भी पहले जब आप राष्ट्रपति जी उनसे मिले थे, चालीस बरस से ऊपर हो गया, शिमला में असेम्बली के मैम्बर थे। मैं एक तमाशबीन की तरह वहाँ गया था, और लोगों ने उनको दिखाया लम्बे शानदार आदमी, तेज आँखें, और खासकर उस जमाने में एक बात का मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ कि ये जेल हो आये हैं। वो जेल जाने का जमाना नहीं था, कोई सवाल भी नहीं उठा था औरों का, तो इसलिए मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ। खैर, उसके बाद जब हमारी तहरीकें शुरू हुई आन्दोलन, और गांधी युग के जमाने में विजय राघवाचार्य जी, कांग्रेस के सदर हुए, तब भी कुछ न कुछ काम करने का मौका मिला उनके नीचे। फिर वो खामोश हो गये थे उसके बाद, जमाने तक और ज्यादा मिलने का मौका नहीं मिला, सिवाय उसके कि सेलम में, मैं कभी एकाध दफे गया था तो वहाँ मिला। और जो दो तस्वीरें आपके सामने हैं उनसे तो आपका भी और मेरा भी बहुत करीब का ताल्लुक रहा। किस हैसियत से उनको देखें मुश्किल है समझना। क्योंकि अगर उस जमाने में जाएं पुराने जमाने में, जो कि पुराना हमें मालूम होता है, क्योंकि इतनी बातें उस जमाने से हो गयीं, हालांकि बहुत दूर नहीं हैं। तो हम महज एक साथी नहीं थे, या एक काम में जुते हुए और वो खाली हमारे लीडर नहीं थे बल्कि करीब-करीब हमारा उनका ताल्लुक सम्बन्ध एक परिवार का सा था, एक खानदान

117. Speech, 16 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

का सा था, जो कि शायद भाई और बहिनों में भी न हो इतना करीब का ताल्लुक, तो फिर जब किसी से इतना करीब का ताल्लुक होता है, तो जरा मुश्किल हो जाता है उसको दूर से देखना और अंदाजा करना कि कैसा है, कैसा नहीं है।

क्योंकि सब में अव्वल ख्याल तो होता है एक बहादुर साथी का, दोस्त का, हम कदम जिसके साथ हम चले, और जिसके साथ बहुत मोहब्बत रही। लेकिन इस ख्याल को छोड़कर भी, अगर इस पिछले जमाने को आप देखें, और किसी कदर इस हाल में जो मुख्तलिफ तस्वीरें लगी हैं, उनकी तरफ निगाह डालें, तो यह ख्याल आता है कि कैसे-कैसे लोग इस हमारे आन्दोलन में और तहरीक में आये थे। एक ढंग के नहीं थे, अलग-अलग ढंग के थे, और खासकर शायद यह दो तस्वीरें सरोजिनी जी की, और मौलाना की जो हैं, वो इस बात की तरफ तवज्जोह दिलाती हैं। शायद एक मामूली जमाने में, न सरोजिनी जी, न मौलाना सियासत के मैदान में आते और बहुत काफी मैदान थे, जो ज्यादा मौजूं थे उनके लिए, जिसमें वो काफी ऊँचे गये और और भी जा सकते थे, लेकिन किसी न किसी तरह से वो इस हमारे बड़े बड़े तहरीकों की लपेट में आकर उसी रास्ते पर चलने लगे जिस पर हजारों लाखों आदमी उस जमाने में चले। यह एक बड़ी बात है कि हमारी जो तहरीक थी, उसमें ऐसे-ऐसे लोग आयें, वो एक उसको एक गहराई दे देती थी, जो कि मामूली सियासत से नहीं मिलते।

आजकल के एक माने में, नरम जमाने में, दूसरे माने में ज्यादा पेचीदा और गरम जमाने में, आप और हम कुछ राजनीति के चक्कर में पड़कर अक्सर दुनिया की बातों को भूल जाते हैं, लेकिन याद रखें आप, कि बड़े से बड़े हमारे आन्दोलन के जमाने में, सरोजिनी जी या मौलाना आज़ाद राजनीति के बिल्कुल गहराई में पड़कर भी कभी उसमें गोता नहीं खाया उन्होंने, उससे अलग रहे, ऊँचे रहे, जैसे कि इंसान को रहना चाहिए। जो बिल्कुल गोता खा जाता है, वो कुछ जिन्दगी के सब पहलुओं से वाकिफ नहीं रहता और बढ़ नहीं सकता पूरा।

सरोजिनी जी का ख्याल आप करें, अलावा इसके, कि एक निशानी थी बड़ी मुबारकबाद की वो, यानी हिन्दुस्तान की स्त्रियों के आगे बढ़ने की, जो कि एक इतनी जरूरी और आवश्यक बात होती है, किसी मुल्क में। उनके बाद बहुत आर्यीं और बहुत अच्छे काम हुए, और रोज-व-रोज हमारी बहिनें नयी-नयी आती हैं, और तरह-तरह के कामों में पड़ती हैं, और शायद सब में बड़ी निशानी मुल्क की तरक्की की यही है। लेकिन वो उन चन्द औरतों में थी, जिन्होंने इस सिलसिले को शुरू किया और मुल्क पर और मुल्क के बाहर भी, एक जबर्दस्त असर डाला। अलावा इसके सब जानते हैं कि कितनी उनकी दिलचस्पी थी दुनिया की उन बातों में जो कि सियासत में आमतौर से नहीं पायी जाती हैं।

आपने, राष्ट्रपति जी, कहा कि वो एक कवि थी, गाने वाली थी, और गा गा के औरों को नचाने वाली भी थी, जो कि होता है अच्छे गाने का, या अच्छे कविता का, और जो मेरी उम्र में, चन्द बहुत चुने हुए मैंने व्याख्यान सुने हैं, जिनका मेरे ऊपर बहुत जबर्दस्त असर हुआ और उस वक्त मेरी भी उम्र कम थी, ज्यादा असर हो जाता था, तो मुझे अब तक याद है, जो पहली बार मैंने सरोजिनी जी की एक स्पीच सुनी थी। मैं तो बिल्कुल बह गया, काबू में नहीं रहा,

और बहुत दिन तक याद रही मुझे वो। उसके बाद बहुत सुना उन्हें, लेकिन वह पहला असर कभी भूला नहीं मैं। उसके बाद इस जमाने में बहुत बातें हुई, और बहुत बातें याद आती हैं, बहुत तस्वीरें तवज्जोह दिलाया चाहता हूँ वो यही कि किस तरह से इस सारे जमाने में 25-30 बरस के कभी वो भूली नहीं वो बातें जो कि एक इंसान में हुनर होते हैं। अलावा सियासत के और इस तरह से उन्होंने हमारे सियासत को जरा ऊँचा कर दिया, जरा उसमें खाली एक सूखा दरख्त नहीं था, फूल पत्तियाँ निकलीं, और मुल्क में भी, एक माने में मदद की, फूल पत्तियाँ निकालने में।

मौलाना जी के निस्वत में आपसे क्या कहूँ? कल तक वो यहाँ थे, इन्हीं बेंचों पर बैठते थे। हम उनको देखा करते थे। हल्के-हल्के उनकी ताकत कम हुई, दिमाग तेज रहा। इनकी भी मिसाल यह है कि ऐसे आदमी सियासत में आमतौर से आते नहीं। लेकिन एक जज्बा, एक आजादी की मोहब्बत, एक गुलामी से नफरत उनको बचपन में ही खेंच लायी। वह कहाँ-कहाँ गये, शुरू में तो कुछ उनका झुकाव हुआ था उन लोगों की तरफ जिनको टेरेरिस्ट कहते हैं, बंगाल में उसका चर्चा शुरू में था, कुछ झुकाव हुआ, और फिर उन्होंने अपनी कलम से वो मजमून लिखने शुरू किए, उर्दू में और फारसी में, जिन्होंने एक तहलका मचा दिया, बहुत दिमागों में इस मुल्क के, कुछ मुल्क के बाहर भी, और एक बिल्कुल एक नया नक्शा सामने किया खासकर यहाँ के मुसलमानों के सामने, और फिर उसके बाद उन्होंने एक उसको एक जामा पहनाया एक सियासत का कहिए, वो लफ्ज ठीक नहीं है, लेकिन एक राष्ट्रियता का, नेशनलिज्म का, जिससे वो फिर अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के निगाहों में गिर गये, या उनको खतरनाक समझा, और वो नजरबन्द किये गये। फिर जमाना आया, मुझे याद है, अमृतसर कांग्रेस में जब वो छूटे थे उसी जमाने में, और उसके बाद तो मुसलसल कांग्रेस के नेताओं में ये थे। और हम लोग जो कि नीचे से ऊपर देखा करते थे बड़े-बड़े बुजुर्गों को, उनका आदर करते थे, उनसे सीखने की कोशिश करते थे।

तो फिर यहाँ आये और शायद ही आप लोगों में से बहुतों को मालूम हो, कि उनके आखिर जमाने में, महीनों या साल दो साल, काफी तकलीफ में वो रहते थे, जिस्म की कमजोरी, दिमाग तो साफ आखीर दम तक, लेकिन जिस्म की कमजोरी। लेकिन बावजूद इसके कामों में फंसे रहे, और यकायक काम करते हुए ही, उनका इन्तकाल हुआ।¹¹⁸ खैर, जो आये और अच्छे काम कर करके गये उनके लिए रंज किस बात का, और अफसोस किस बात का? रंज उनके लिए होता है जो आता है, और जाता है और कुछ करना नहीं, फिजूल दुनिया में बोझा बढ़ाने के लिए आ गया। तो रंज की बात नहीं, बल्कि खुशी की बात और फख्र की बात कि ऐसे लोग हमारे मुल्क में हुए, उन्होंने अपनी शान से मुल्क की शान बढ़ायी, और हम लोग जो उनके साथ थे, उनको भी कुछ सिखाया क्या करना चाहिए, क्या नहीं करना चाहिए। उनकी तस्वीरें यहाँ लगाने से जो लोग यहाँ आये, हम आजकल के हैं, हमारे बाद और जो लोग आये, उनके लिए

118. See SWJN/SS/41/p. 827.

भी कई याददाश्त रहेगी उस जमाने की हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास की, जो कि एक तारीखी तो है ही, एक सुनहरा जमाना था, और जिसमें इन बुजुर्गों ने यह हिन्दुस्तान का नाम दुनिया में रोशन किया। (तालियाँ)

[Translation begins:

Mr President, Comrades and Friends,

On this occasion when we are assembled here together my mind harks back to the past and pictures of past history float before my mind as they would before yours too. On such occasions as this we tend to forget for a short while the times that we are living in and the difficulties that we are facing today, and are transported into another age when our struggles were on a different plane. It is a good thing sometimes to look back and remember the people who had led the way and set values for the nation to follow.

I remember seeing Shri Vijaya Raghavacharya even before you, Mr. President, met him, more than forty years ago when he was a member of the Assembly at Simla. I had gone there as a spectator and someone pointed him out to me. He was a tall and powerful personality with brilliant eyes and what impressed me most, particularly in those days, was the fact that he had been to jail. The question of anyone going to jail had not arisen then. So it made a deep impression upon me. Anyhow, our freedom movement began and when Vijaya Raghavacharya became the President of the Congress in the Gandhian era, I had the opportunity of working under him. After that he became silent for years and there was not much opportunity of meeting him, except when I went to Solan on a couple of occasions to meet him.

So the two pictures are before you and all of us have had close contacts with him. It is difficult to know how to describe him. If we go back to the past which seems very distant because so many things have happened during the interval though it is not very distant time wise, we were not merely colleagues or working under his leadership but we also had a relationship of great closeness. We were like one large family and perhaps even real brothers and sisters may not enjoy such closeness. When there is such close contact, it is difficult to be objective about an individual. The foremost thought is of a man who was a brave colleague and friend with whom we marched in step and cherished a great affection for.

But even if you put that thought aside and look back into the past, especially if you look at the various pictures which are hanging on this wall, one is struck by the diversity of the people who joined the freedom movement. There were different types of people who came in and the pictures of Sarojiniji and Maulana

especially draw attention to this fact. Perhaps in normal times, people like Sarojiniji and Maulana would not have come into the political arena for there were other fields which were more fitting for them, in which they had reached great heights and could have gone further. But somehow they were drawn into the vortex of the great movements of our times and chose the path which millions of human beings were trading at that time. It is a hallmark of our freedom movement that such people came into it and gave it a depth and character which is not possible in ordinary politics. Today, in these softer times but in another sense, more complex and crucial times, you and I caught in the turmoil of politics often tend to forget the other important things of life. But please bear in mind that during the freedom struggle, even when in the thick of politics, people like Sarojiniji and Maulana Azad never faltered and stood a little apart and on a high pinnacle as a human being should. Those who get immersed in politics and remain ignorant of other facets of life cannot become complete human beings.

Take Sarojiniji, for instance. She was a very welcome symbol of the progress of Indian womanhood which is very essential for any country. Many others joined after her and did good work and more and more women are coming to the fore and taking up all kinds of tasks. Perhaps this is the greatest sign of the nation's progress. But she was among the first few women who had started the process and made a profound impact in India and abroad. Apart from this, everyone knows her keen interest in matters which are not normally associated with politics. You, Mr. President, have said that she was a great poet and a musician who could make others dance to her tune which is the hallmark of a good poet or musician. I have heard very few speeches during my lifetime which have made a great impact on me. Perhaps I was younger then and so was more deeply influenced. But I remember vividly even now the first time when I heard Sarojiniji's speech, I got completely carried away and for a long time afterwards could not shake off the profound impression that it made on me. I heard her many times later. But I have never forgotten that first impression.

Then many other things happened and memories come flooding back. I am trying to draw your attention to the fact that over a period of twenty five, thirty years, she did not forget the other talents that she possessed in the general mill of politics. Consequently she uplifted our politics and instead of being a barren tree, it began to throw out new shoots. In a sense, she helped the nation to develop new values.

What should I say about Maulana? Till the other day, he was here with us, right on these benches for all of us to see. Gradually he became frail in body though his mind remained as brilliant as ever. He was also an example of the kind of a man who does not normally enter politics. It was his deep love of

freedom and abhorrence of slavery which drew him into this field in his childhood. He passed through various phases. In the beginning he had some leanings towards the terrorist movement which had begun in Bengal. Then he began to write articles in Urdu and Persian which created a storm in the minds of people in India and abroad. He presented an entirely new picture especially to the Muslims of India and aroused the spirit of nationalism. This made him persona non grata with the British government and he was imprisoned because he was considered dangerous. Then, I remember, at the Amritsar Congress when he had just been released from jail, he emerged as one of the foremost leaders of the Congress. All of us looked up to him and held him in great respect and tried to learn from him.

Then he came here and perhaps very few amongst you would be aware that in the last few years of his life, he suffered greatly in body though his mind remained calm till the end. But in spite of his ailments, he was engrossed in work and passed away suddenly in the midst of his work.¹¹⁹ Anyhow, why should anyone grieve for someone who worked well? We must grieve for those who live and die without having achieved anything but are useless burdens to the world. Therefore there is no grief but happiness and pride about the fact that such great men were born in our country and added luster to the nation. Those of us who worked with such human beings learnt a great deal from them. Hanging the pictures of those great souls will be constant reminders not only to us but to the generations who come after us of a period of Indian history which was a momentous, golden age when these illustrious forefathers illumined India's name in the world.

Translation ends.]

59. In the Lok Sabha: Disorder in Parliament¹²⁰

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, there is no order being maintained in the House. Hon. Members continue standing while others are speaking.

Mr. Speaker: If those hon. Members who insist on speaking notwithstanding the fact that I have proceeded to some other matter, think they can go on disturbing the proceedings of the House, I will have to do without them.

¹¹⁹. See fn 118 in this section.

¹²⁰. 16 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 5381-5384.

Sarju Pandey:¹²¹ On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: No point of order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I move that the hon. Member be suspended from the House for the day.

Mr. Speaker: Yes. The question is....(Interruptions). The hon. Member will kindly retire from the House for the rest of the day. (Interruptions). It is open to the Leader of the House to say it. The Leader of the House is the representative of the House; so far as the order is concerned, he can bring it to the notice of the Speaker. When the Speaker is hesitating, he would like to have confirmation from the Leader of the House as to what he should do. Certainly, in taking the opinion of the Leader of the House, I have only done the right thing.

Renu Chakravarty:¹²² The Leader of the House says it only when an Opposition Member is involved; not when it is a Member of his own party.

A Hon. Member: On a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: There is no point of order.

T.B. Vittal Rao:¹²³ After hearing it, you can say there is no point of order. You cannot do so before hearing it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I move that all hon. Members in any part of the House who are challenging your ruling be suspended from the House for the day.

Renu Chakravarty: What right has he to ask you that a person who raises a point of order be suspended? Does anybody have that right? (Interruptions).

H.N. Mukerjee:¹²⁴ Sir, on a point of order in regard to what the Prime Minister has just chosen to suggest. I ask you if it is in order for the Prime Minister to bring forward an omnibus motion of that sort that whoever is contesting your ruling should be asked to leave the House. (Interruptions).

121. Communist.

122. Communist.

123. Communist.

124. Communist.

I request you not to come to a decision merely because the Leader of the House is a very great personality. The Leader of the House does not seem to be aware of his responsibilities as the Leader of the House. (Interruptions). He says that you are to ask every Member who contests your ruling to leave the House. That is a sort of copy-book maxim which he has no business to impose upon us in this manner.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not for me to say whether I realise my responsibilities or not, but I do realise and know that some hon. Members opposite do not know what their responsibilities are. I did so—I have never done so for the last few years—I ventured to suggest it because the other day, you were pleased to say that it was my duty to draw your attention when things occur in this House which are contrary to the procedure of this House and the dignity of this House. Now, I am not going into the merits of the question, but repeatedly we have seen the dignity of the House being ignored and being offended against and people doing this not only by voice, but by strange gestures throwing them about. It is an extraordinary sight in this Lok Sabha.

Some hon. Members: Shame

Jawaharlal Nehru: People are moving their arms and shouting. While you are standing they do not sit down, they are standing. They carry on arguments while you are talking, and they do not listen to you. I do submit that this is an offence against all rules of procedure and the dignity of the House. And I venture to say that any person who functions in that way should be proceeded against. It is for you. I did not mention names; I can mention names later but I may suggest that any person who acts that way may be asked to withdraw and made known that you will be pleased to take such action.

H.N. Mukerjee: It is open to the Leader of the House, if he chooses, to bring forward a motion in conformity with the rules of this House, naming certain members and certain procedures necessarily follow. Before that is done, Sir, it is gratuitous on the part of the Leader of the House to make that kind of remarks which he goes on making. I am equally interested in regard to the regulation of the House in conformity with the rules, and I do not wish your ruling to be contested at all. Actually I came very much late in the proceedings, and I am not very well aware of the kind of questions that have been raised. But the kind of omnibus suggestion just made by the Prime Minister goes against the grain of Parliamentary institutions and I wish he will remain beware of that.

(h) Media

60. To Feroze Gandhi: Ministers Talking Out of Turn¹²⁵

December 21, 1959

Dear Feroze,

I have received the representation addressed to me by you and 66 other Members of Parliament in regard to a press conference given by Shri S.N. Mishra, Deputy Minister.¹²⁶ Owing to my heavy preoccupations with other matters I had not even read the newspaper report of this press conference. Two or three days ago, Shyam Nandan Mishra came to see me at his own request and said something about a new push to planning etc. He gave me a pamphlet on this subject, I told him I would have no time to read it in the near future but I would certainly do it later. I did not know then that he was having a press conference.

Without reading these documents, it is a little difficult for me to express any firm opinion. But, broadly speaking, it does seem to me unusual and rather odd for a Member of Government to give publicity in a press conference or otherwise to views about basic questions which are being considered by Government, our Party and Parliament. I am writing to Shyam Nandan Mishra on this subject.¹²⁷

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

61. To S.N. Mishra: Ministers Talking Out of Turn¹²⁸

December 21, 1959

My dear Shyam Nandan,

As you perhaps know, there has been a good deal of criticism among members of our Party about a press conference that you gave a day or two ago, I have been so busy lately that I have hardly read newspapers and I had not read about this press conference. When you came to see me the other day and gave me a

125. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

126. Addressing pressmen on 19 December 1959, S. N. Mishra, Convener of the Congress Socialist Forum—also known as the Ginger Group—called for an alliance of the Congress, PSP and national democratic socialist parties (sic) to collaborate in the task of national reconstruction. See *The Hindu*, 20 December 1959.

127. See item 61.

128. Letter to the Deputy Minister of Planning.

pamphlet, I told you that I would read it but I had no idea that you were going to give a press conference.

Without reading this pamphlet and what you said at the conference, I cannot express any firm opinion but it does seem to me unusual and rather odd for a member of Government to speak on these basic matters at a press conference. You could, of course, raise these in the Party or among governmental circles.

This matter is likely to be raised at a Party meeting.¹²⁹ Therefore I am writing to you about it.

The representation I have received is signed by 67 Members of Parliament belonging to our Party.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

129. At the CPP meeting, S. N. Mishra explained that he had proposed the coalition as Convener of the CSF and not in his official capacity with GOI. Moreover, the CSF had been functioning with the knowledge of the Congress High Command and had put forth proposals on many issues in the past. See *The Indian Express*, 23 December 1959.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

62. To Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan: Night Shelters for Footpath Dwellers¹

December 9, 1959

My dear Homi,

Your letter of the 4th December.² I am enclosing a message for your "SMALL SAVER."

I am glad to know that you are sponsoring a scheme for providing sleeping accommodation for footpath dwellers. I think this is important. As for my laying the foundation stone, I do not quite understand where the foundation stone comes in. Apart from this, I am afraid I can find no time at all for such a function during my next very brief visit to Bombay.

I am enquiring about the matter connected with tourism and the construction of structures about which you have written to me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

1. Letter to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister of Bombay. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Homi Taleyarkhan had referred to Nehru's suggestion for such a scheme. He said the State Government was agreeable and wanted Nehru to lay the foundation stone. As for a "Courtesy to Tourists" campaign, he wondered whether such a campaign might be counterproductive by suggesting that tourists were treated shabbily. He concluded with a request to Nehru for a message for the *Small Saver*—an official multi-lingual monthly.

63. To Nathu Singh: Reviewing Compensation to Jagirdars³

December 9, 1959

My dear Nathu Singh,

I have your letters of the 4th December.

I am always agreeable to meeting some of your jagirdars, but you must realise that an award once given cannot be revised. That was given after months' consideration by the Planning Commission and, later, by me, and accepted by both the parties concerned.⁴ I do not understand how such an award can be open to revision or review.

Apart from this, I can find no time for an interview in December or January. I am absolutely full up. Indeed, I shall be out of Delhi for many days during these months. If, however, you wish your jagirdar friends to explain what they have to say, they can do so to my Principal Private Secretary, K. Ram. He has dealt with this matter previously and knows its ins and outs.

Your second letter refers to a review concerning the army. As I told you when you met me, the organisation of the army and all connected with it, should always be kept in review with a view to any revision or improvement. But I do not understand your proposal to appoint a Committee of the type you have mentioned. I am sure that the Vice-President or a Judge of the Supreme Court will not be suitable for this, nor can we ask them to undertake this work.

I understand that our Army Headquarters and the Defence Ministry are giving earnest consideration to the new situation that has arisen and how to meet it. I am sure they will welcome any suggestions that you send them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Letter to retired Lieutenant General associated with Bhooswami Sangh in Rajasthan. File No. 7(79)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copied to Krishna Menon.

4. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 340-342 and SWJN/SS/51/pp. 298-300.

64. In the Lok Sabha: Third Five Year Plan⁵

Question:⁶ Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 185 on the 6th August, 1959 and state the further progress made so far in regard to the formation of the Third Five Year Plan?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (L.N. Mishra): During September and October, the Planning Commission reviewed the tentative proposals of all the Working Groups in consultation with them. Three new Working Groups were constituted for the study of problems of price policy, exports and imports in relation to production programmes, and programmes of co-operative development. The Panel of Economists has also met and considered various basic questions. Preliminary informal consultations are taking place with representatives of State Governments during discussions for the Annual Plan for 1960-61. The Planning Commission is now engaged in considering the more important issues of the Third Plan with a view to drawing up a Draft Outline in the course of the next two or three months.

Panigrahi: It has been stated in the newspapers that the estimate for the Third Five Year Plan is about Rs. 10,000 crores of investment. May I know whether the Planning Commission is again revising this target?

L.N. Mishra: No target has been fixed so far. The Working Groups are working and everything is tentative at the present moment.

Kumari M. Vedakumari: Which was the price level that was taken as the basis for the calculation of the Third Five Year Plan?

Mr. Speaker⁷: I could not hear the question.

5. Oral answers, 18 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 5830-5837.
6. By Congress MPs C. Panigrahi, N.K. Pangarkar, D.N. Tiwari, M.L. Dwivedi, D.C. Sharma, Mofida Ahmed, H.C. Mathur, Ram Subhag Singh, Rameshwar Tantia, Bangshi Thakur, Ajit Singh Sarhadi, Kumari M. Vedakumari; PSP MPs Khushwaqt Rai, Hem Barua; Communist MPs V.P. Nayar, T.C.N. Menon, Dasarath Deb; Socialist M.P. L. Achaw Singh and Independents S.M. Banerjee and Prakash Vir Shastri.
7. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

Kumari M. Vedakumari: Which was the price level that was taken as the basis for the calculation of the Third Five Year Plan?

The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (Nanda): The current price level.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should look at me when putting the question.

Panigrahi: It has been published in almost every newspaper that the estimate has been fixed at Rs. 10,000 crores. We would like to know whether this estimate is really the correct estimate and, if so, what are the resources internal and external?

Nanda: This has not yet been finalised and, therefore, it is not possible to give the final figure. There is no question of revision.

Kasliwal:⁸We have been told that the Third Plan will continue to lay emphasis on heavy industries. What are the heavy industries which the Planning Commission has in mind for the Third Plan?

The Deputy Minister of Planning (S.N. Mishra): It is difficult to indicate the exact industries. But, in view of the recent developments, it is obvious that there should be greater emphasis on heavy industries. Steel, power, and machine building plants etc. are some of the things which we have in mind.

Harish Chandra Mathur: What is the basis on which the Working Groups and the State Governments are proceeding? Until and unless something has been indicated from the Centre, they cannot work in the vacuum. There must be certain basis on which to proceed. What is the basis which has been indicated?

S.N. Mishra: I would like to make it clear that for the Working Groups we have the projection given in the Second Plan. That projection gives an investment figure of Rs. 9,900 crores. We are working more or less on that basis.

8. N.C. Kasliwal, Congress.

D.C. Sharma: May I know whether the panel on employment has submitted its final report and, if so, the approximate employment potential in the Third Plan?

S.N. Mishra: How can any figure in regard to employment be given at this stage when we have not got all the targets and programmes finalised?

Raghunath Singh: May I know whether ship-building industry will be included in heavy industries or not?

S.N. Mishra: Yes, that is a very important thing.

Mr. Speaker: Has it been answered?

S.N. Mishra: That is very important.

Raghunath Singh: Will it be included or not?

Mr. Speaker: It seems it has not been finalized. By the time we meet next year it will be ready and I will give an opportunity to members.

S.N. Mishra: The second shipyard has been sanctioned, and this is a subject which has been engaging our attention.

Punnoose:⁹ It has been stated that State Governments are being consulted. May I know whether in the case of Kerala an opportunity will be given to the elected Government to be consulted on this?

S.N. Mishra: Most certainly, Sir.

Ila Palchoudhuri:¹⁰ Considering the fact that Calcutta port will be of primary importance in the Third Plan and Rs. 56 crores will be needed for that, is it included in the core of the Plan as at present?

S.N. Mishra: For the exact details I would request the hon. Member to address the Ministry concerned.

9. Communist.

10. Congress.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that some delay is involved in the schedule formulating the Third Plan and, if so, whether the criticism that it is due to the association of senior Government officials who have to do administrative jobs and who have to undertake tours abroad in the nature of their duties is true or not?

S.N. Mishra: I could not get the question.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): May I answer it, Sir? There has been no delay.

S.M. Banerjee: I want to know whether in the Third Plan emphasis will be given to the expansion of defence establishments, particularly with a view to become self-sufficient in our defence requirements.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, sir. Self-sufficiency is a big word in regard to defence, as in regard to anything. No country is ever self-sufficient, because something new happens; all the time it is trying to be sufficient; but, broadly speaking, that is our wish, and that is our attempt.

Mr. Speaker: When is the draft likely to be completed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The date of the draft was proclaimed about a year ago—it will be completed in the middle of 1960.

S.M. Banerjee: May I know...

Mr. Speaker: Hon. members will kindly hear me. Each hon. Member will have some suggestion in regard to the formulation of the Plan. All these suggestions may be sent to the Government in writing. Shall I go on allowing every hon. Member to give every suggestion on the floor of the House? There is no draft Plan yet. What is the question that has to be put? Next question.

T.B. Vittal Rao: Regarding the draft plan....

Mr. Speaker: So far as the draft is concerned, on the previous occasion it was placed before the House, and the House itself was divided into four working groups according to the nature of the subjects, and the members were allowed to give their views; ultimately, it came before the House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The practice in the past years has been to prepare a full draft. Planning Commission prepares it; Government considers it; the National Development Council considers it. All this is the preparatory stage. The House considers it then. As you have been pleased to say, the House may form committees to consider it whatever the method may be; and then the whole draft, for more than a year, is open to public criticism. Then, in the course of that year, it is revised by the Planning Commission and comes up before the Government and it is finalized ultimately for being placed before the House. So, there is a very thorough criticism and consideration.

T.B. Vittal Rao: My point is this. The Second Plan draft was given to us after the Plan period has started. We want to know whether the Third Plan will be ready before the beginning of the Third Plan period.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Planning is not a water-tight thing. We may call it Second Plan, Third Plan and all that, but it is really a continuous process. It is desirable to fix up the major things because, as a matter of fact, some of the things which are likely to be included in the Third Plan, we propose to start here and now in the Second Plan; that is, consideration of the project report, especially for big industries, in order to be ready to start them. There is no particular date of starting. So, this question of overlapping is bound to take place.

Mr. Speaker: The only anxiety of the members is that major things may not be started without the House knowing what exactly is started.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Should we come to the House and ask whether we should start a new steel plant or not? These have been decided by the members, the principles I mean. What are the main things if you talk about heavy industries? Steel plant is a very important thing then big machine building plants. The principle and everything was accepted in the Second Plan. The Third Plan is largely a projection of the Second Plan principles. The details do not come up before the House.

Ranga: There is also the question of resources.

Mr. Speaker: All that will be placed before the House.

Ranga: Whether it will be met by taxes or by deficit financing or by anything else...

Mr. Speaker: All that will be worked out.

Asoka Mehta: Some months back a question was raised and the hon. Prime Minister was good enough to assure us that in drawing the Third Plan different sections of the House will be consulted. Accordingly a committee was set up. I do not know why the Committee has never been called and whether the Committee will meet before even the draft outline is prepared.

Ranga: Has a committee been set up?

Asoka Mehta: A committee has been set up.

Ranga: May we know if the committee has been set up at a later stage, the personnel of the committee and the basis on which it has been set up?

Nanda:¹¹ Now that our ideas are getting crystallised, it will be time for the various meetings to take place.

Asoka Mehta: We had pointed out on earlier occasions, both on the floor of the House and in correspondence with the hon. Prime Minister that it is very difficult for us to make our suggestions after the Government has already decided about what they have to do. Therefore we would like to be consulted before they finally make up their mind even with regard to the draft outline. Accordingly, in response to this suggestion of hon. Members on this side of the House, the hon. Prime Minister was good enough to set up a committee of which I happen to be a member representing my party. Unfortunately, though this committee was set up about six or seven months back and a considerable amount of work has been done by the Planning Commission, we know nothing about it. We do not want once again to be confronted with some finished product before us.

Nanda: There will be ample time before a draft outline comes before Parliament and even before the Planning Commission finalises it. Before that stage of finalisation there will be consultation in one way or another.

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I add that I feel guilty, to some extent, to the charge which the hon. Member has brought, that is, of this committee not meeting. It

11. Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning.

was a slight lapse on my part, partly due to the fact that we thought that things were not ripe enough. But even so it would be a good thing for the committee to meet from time to time even for informal talks. I am sorry for it. I hope an opportunity will come for the committee to meet. Meanwhile, I am not quite sure whether the members of the committee have been receiving any papers or not.

A Hon. Member: No

Jawaharlal Nehru: I will see that some papers are sent to them.

65. To Asoka Mehta: MPs Planning Committee Meeting¹²

December 18, 1959

Dear Asoka,

I must repeat to you what I said in Parliament today.¹³ I deeply regret that a meeting of the MPs Planning Committee has not been held. The fault is very largely mine. During the last session of Parliament and the present one, there have been such an abundance of problems and difficulties that I forgot about this committee.

I have now had a talk with Gulzarilal Nanda. I think that we should try to hold a meeting of this Committee before the session ends. It may be that I am unable to attend it because I am very fully occupied during the next three or four days. But, if I can, I shall come there. I am asking Gulzarilal Nanda to fix up a date and time for it.

Also we are arranging to send you necessary papers from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Letter. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

13. See item 64.

66. To G.L. Nanda: Composition of MPs Planning Committee¹⁴

December 18, 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have written to Asoka Mehta.¹⁵ I agree that a meeting of the MPs Planning Committee should be held before the Session ends. You can fix any time that suits you and the others. I can hardly suggest any time myself as I am fully occupied with the Swedish Prime Minister as well as other engagements, but if it suits you and others, I could come for half an hour at 2-30 p.m. on the 21st December in Parliament House.

You have sent me N.G. Ranga's letter to you. I think you might reply to him that they can choose one representative of their group for this committee. Every group has only one representative in the committee, and there is no reason, therefore, why the Swatantra Party people should have more than one.

I enclose a list of MPs who were included in this committee after consultation with various Parties. You will notice that, oddly enough, there is no Congress MP in it except, of course, the Ministers. The Ministers added to the Committee were

- (1) Home Minister
- (2) Finance Minister¹⁶
- (3) Planning Minister
- (4) Defence Minister, and
- (5) Community Development Minister.¹⁷

I think it would be desirable to have one non-Minister Congress MP in it. You can yourself suggest a name.

Thus the Committee will remain as previously formed with the addition of one non-Minister Congress MP and one representative of the Swatantra Party. Representation is not by Houses in this Committee, but by Parties, whether they are in the Lok Sabha or in the Rajya Sabha.

When you have a meeting, you might invite Tarlok Singh¹⁸, Pitambar Pant¹⁹ and my PPS, K. Ram.

14. Letter.

15. See item 65.

16. Morarji Desai.

17. S.K. Dey.

18. Additional Secretary, Planning Commission.

19. Head, Perspective Planning Division, Planning Commission.

I enclose copies of some old papers in connection with this Committee.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

67. MPs Planning Committee²⁰

Present: Prime Minister, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Planning, Minister of Defence, Minister of Communal Development and Cooperation, Deputy Minister of Planning, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission (by special invitation); M.P.s: V.K. Dhage,²¹ Bhupesh Gupta,²² Surendra Mahanty,²³ Asoka Mehta, Sadiq Ali,²⁴ N. Siva Raj,²⁵ Atal Bihari Vajpayee,²⁶ Indulal Kanaiyalal Yajnik²⁷

A note on Progress in the Preparation of the Third Five Year Plan was circulated as a basis for discussion in the meeting.

2. Opening the discussion, the Prime Minister said that, broadly speaking, thinking on the Third Five Year Plan had proceeded so far on the basis of a total investment of about Rs. 10000 crores.

3. Asoka Mehta suggested that the Committee might give attention to the following four questions which had been referred to in the Planning Commission's papers:-

- (1) Implications of the projections up to the Fifth Five Year Plan mentioned in paragraph 5 of Planning Commission's note. The Planning Commission might prepare a memorandum on this subject in which these implications might be brought out objectively.
- (2) The suggestion in paragraph 6 of the note that planning for a self-sustaining economy would involve larger investment in the more remote stages of production. Shri Mehta asked whether they were all agreed on this proposition.

20. Summary of first meeting of the Informal Committee on Planning, 21 December 1959. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS.

21. Independent.

22. CP.

23. Mahagujarat Janata Parishad.

24. Congress.

25. Independent.

26. Jan Sangh.

27. Mahagujarat Janata Parishad.

[illegible]

The outlay for the Third Five Year Plan is given to be very large.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 8 NOVEMBER 1959

(3) What contribution could the rural sector make? This was an area in which the Committee could be of special help. If all concerned agreed, what was not feasible became feasible. In finding answers to various problems, a panel of persons from public life might be of considerable help.

(4) What were the difficulties experienced in the course of the Second Plan? (Paragraph 6 of the note) These should be brought into the open.

The Prime Minister appreciated Shri Mehta's suggestions and agreed that these might be considered at a meeting to be held two or three days before the next session of Parliament.

4. Indulal K. Yajnik suggested that it might be useful to set up a small working group particularly interested in the rural sector. He said that the minds of the people were deeply exercised about soaring prices and that planning should have some correlation with prices. It should be borne in mind that the Plan could best succeed if it was able to draw upon the voluntary cooperation of the people.

5. Bhupesh Gupta suggested that the Committee might be furnished with more material regarding the Second Five Year Plan. In particular, he posed the following questions:

- (1) Why was the investment target of the Second Five Year Plan not kept?
- (2) What were we going to do to generate capital formation in the rural sector?
- (3) The backlog of unemployment in the Second Plan would be larger than had been estimated earlier. What were we going to do about it?
- (4) How were we going to face the problem of resources? What directions did we propose in regard to the problem of internal resources?
- (5) As regards the emphasis to basic industries, which were the industries which we needed to set up? Which were the industries which should receive top priority?
- (6) Priorities for the five year period.

Bhupesh Gupta said that he and members of his group would like to discuss these matters amongst themselves and make the views of his group available to the committee.

6. The Prime Minister said that in a sense the period of five years was too short for planning. It was necessary to think, not in detail but in a broad way, of a longer period such as 15 years. A steel plant took five years to build but the engineer who was to build it required training and experience for over 15 years. That is where perspective planning came in.

7. The Minister of Home Affairs suggested that the Committee might consider the conclusions and recommendations of the meeting of the National

Development Council held in April 1959 (Annexure II of Planning Commission's note). The Home Minister emphasised the need for a national approach and for securing 'inner cooperation' from all sections of the public. He drew attention to the problem of resources and to the possibility of developing resources such as betterment levy. He also emphasised the importance of finding ways and means of using idle manpower in the country which was one of the most important resources available. The Prime Minister agreed with the Home Minister and observed that while employment was at a higher level than it had ever been before; in fact far more employable people were coming up.

8. In answer to a question regarding the impact of the situation on the border, the Prime Minister specially referred to the importance of developing heavy industries.

9. V.K. Dhage suggested that once representatives of different groups agreed on what to plan there should be concerted effort on the part of all concerned to implement the Plan.

10. The Prime Minister referred briefly to recent developments regarding devolution of responsibilities to representative bodies at the block level in Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere. He said that the first results had been encouraging. New responsibilities were accompanied by new resources and by authority to raise additional resources.

11. Asoka Mehta suggested that the conclusions of the Twelfth meeting of the National Development Council regarding the Third Five Year Plan and the questions which he had mentioned earlier might form a basis for discussion at the next meeting of the Committee. The Committee might concentrate on the consideration of a few key issues. If there was agreement on three or four "clusters", many other things would fall into their proper position.

12. It was agreed that at its next meeting the Committee might consider the conclusions reached at the National Development Council.

13. The Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, agreed to send a selection of Planning Commission's papers to the members of the Committee and, where necessary, to have papers specially prepared. It was also agreed to arrange to send to the members of the Committee a copy of the report of the recent seminar of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry which included a speech delivered by Professor Max Millikan, Director for Centre for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

14. It was agreed provisionally that the next meeting of the Committee should be held on February 6, 1960.

(b) Cooperatives

68. To Gunada Majumdar: The "Social Outlook" to Cooperation²⁸

December 7, 1959

Dear Gunada Majumdar,

I have your letter of December 3rd.²⁹ In this you have referred to some broad propositions and approaches. Generally speaking, one agrees with them. But I suppose the difficulty comes in implementing them. I am forwarding your letter to our Minister of Community Development.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

69. To Gunada Majumdar: Problems with the "Social Outlook"³⁰

December 9, 1959

Dear Gunada Majumdar,

Your letter of December 3. I have discussed the point you have raised with S.K. Dey.³¹

There can be no doubt that a social outlook is necessary in our workers whatever they may do, more especially in community development work. That

28. Letter to the Chairman, West Bengal Rural Development Corporation. File No. 258, Jayaprakash Narayan Papers, NMML.

29. Majumdar stressed the need for a "social outlook" to work on development programmes. He had described it in his Note, *Plan and its Implementation*, which he had discussed with officials in West Bengal; but he wanted it addressed at the national level. He found that he was unable to adopt these ideas in the Community Development Programme and resigned from his job.

30. Letter. File No. 17 (28)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

31. S. K. Dey wrote to Nehru on 9 December 1959: "Majumdar was employed by the West Bengal Government in an important position in the Community Development Programme at my instance in 1955. I have studied him for the past four years with a keen sense of disappointment throughout. He is a demagogue par excellence. Further, he is a typical representative of the PSP movement in India in the sense that he likes to preach from a pulpit but does not wish to be accountable to anyone for anything." File No. 17(28)/59-62-PMS.

is the objective. Whether we can realise it fully or not is another matter. If the procedures are wrong, they should be looked into and changed.

I do not quite understand what your ideas are on this subject. Obviously in any organisation or even out of it some kind of training is necessary. Without that discipline and organised work, no big task can be taken up. Individuals, of course, can do very good work on their own account. But if they are connected with Government, there have to be some rules. Procedures can and should be improved wherever necessary. Otherwise the work done will be spasmodic and in different directions.

I gather that S.K. Dey wrote to Jayaprakashji on this subject in April last.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

70. To D.P. Karmarkar: Land for Maharani Bagh in Delhi³²

December 17, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I wrote to you some time ago, sending you a copy of a note which I had received from N.R. Pillai and Ashok Chanda about some land for the Maharani Bagh Cooperative House Building Society. I have had no answer from you. Meanwhile, I have received a letter from K.C. Reddy, a copy of which I enclose.

I do not understand why these simple matters should be hung up for many months. If there is any difficulty about it, it should be dealt with forthwith by a small conference. It does us little credit to delay decisions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. Letter to the Minister of Health. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

71. To Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya: No Contribution to the Indian Cooperative Union³³

December 18, 1959

My dear Kamaladevi,

Your letter of the 17th December about the Indian Cooperative Union, I have received their report also, but I have had no time to look into it.

As for my giving you "a generous contribution towards your fund", in any event my personal contribution could not have been very significant. But there is another aspect of this matter. At the present moment, there seems to be a good deal of controversy about the future of cooperatives in India. I hold fairly strong views about these matters. In these circumstances, it would not be appropriate for me to send any personal contribution to any of the cooperative organisations. Perhaps later, when these controversies are cleared up, this might be possible.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

72. To Ramakrishna Rao: Kerala Toddy Tappers' Cooperatives³⁴

December 22, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

This morning two persons from Kerala representing the Toddy Tappers Cooperatives came to see me. They were T.C.N. Menon³⁵ and C.A. George. They gave me a brief memorandum as well as a printed document addressed to your Advisor. I enclose this brief memorandum. I do not know, of course, all the facts. But unless there are strong reasons to the contrary, it seems to me inadvisable to revert from cooperatives to contractors. That will be contrary to the general tendency in the country and may be much criticised.

33. Letter to the President of the Indian Cooperative Union, New Delhi.

34. Letter to the Governor of Kerala.

35. Lok Sabha MP, Communist.

If the Trade Unions or Cooperatives are not functioning properly, they could be dealt with in other ways and improved. But, as I say, I do not have all the facts and have only given you my broad impression.³⁶

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

73. To Ramakrishna Rao: Election Visit to Kerala³⁷

December 31, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th December about Toddy Tappers' Cooperatives in Kerala.

I have today agreed to pay a very brief visit to Kerala in connection with the elections. I now intend going there on the 18th January from Bangalore. I shall go to Ernakulam where it is proposed to hold a public meeting. I shall spend about three hours at Ernakulam. I shall return to Bangalore the same day.

This is the present proposal. It will be finalised I suppose a little later. My visit to Ernakulam is, of course, entirely for Congress purposes and therefore, non-official. You should not take the trouble to meet me. In fact I shall be spending only three hours or so there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. According to *The Hindu* of 14 January 1959 and *The Hindustan Times* of 11 August 1959, K.R. Gouri, the Revenue Minister, had announced at the joint annual conference of the Travancore-Cochin Tappers Federation and the Enamavu Peringottunkkara Tappers Union in January 1959, the State Government's decision to entrust the toddy industry to the Toddy Tappers Cooperative Societies. In August 1959, the CPI-led Toddy Tappers' Cooperatives objected to tax arrears being collected. Opposition parties alleged heavy revenue losses owing to toddy vending rights having been granted to these societies in violation of abkari rules. The re-auction of more than 200 toddy shops was ordered to recover an outstanding of Rs 3 lakhs.

37. Letter. File No. 8/119/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

(c) Food and Agriculture

74. To the International Federation of Agricultural Producers³⁸

Mr President,³⁹ Ladies and Gentlemen,

The train of my thought has been somewhat upset by the flattering remarks of the President. It is very good of him to speak so generously in regard to me but it has had this unfortunate effect which I just mentioned. Of course I come here, when I come here I am at a disadvantage. In this assembly presumably of practical farmers, I come here as a person who is not a farmer at all, who has never been a farmer, although, naturally, no one dealing with public affairs can remain ignorant of the tremendous problems which farmers have to face, more particularly in a country like India which is predominantly an agricultural country.

Now if you will permit me to refer back into a bit of personal history, it was almost exactly forty years ago that I came in contact with the Indian farmer, the small farmer, the poorest of his kind, tenants of landlords under conditions which might well have been as semi-feudal. I was astonished. I had seen them of course, but this intimate contact amazed me and shocked me, when I saw the conditions in which these people lived and the kind of exactions that were made from them for all kinds of things and at every possible opportunity in those days, happily long over. If the landlord wanted his daughter married he put a fresh tax on the tenants, if he bought an elephant he made them contribute, if he bought an automobile, the tenants contributed to the automobile being bought by him, new and curious taxes not authorised by law, of course, but nevertheless which the poor men had to pay whether they wanted to or not—they did not want to, obviously, but they were tenants at will, they could be pushed out, and what with the land hunger in India and in those areas at any rate, the very heavy population ratio to land. So coming into contact with these people shook me up completely and was perhaps one of the major psychological experiences that I have had. After that, for many years I wandered about among them and often functioned, I mean to say so, as an agitator wanting land reforms

38. Speech at the 11th Conference of the IFAP, New Delhi, 5 December 1959. NMML.

The IFAP was an international delegation of around 120 farm leaders. Nehru was addressing the Federation on the last of its nine day long programme. The Conference decided to hold its next meeting in Yugoslavia in 1961.

39. James G. Patton.

and all that. In that sense, although I am not a practical farmer I did develop certain deep emotional bonds with the persons who worked, actually worked in their fields. And I thought, and I saw, that when we talk about India, this great country which has all kinds of people, of course, the basic and fundamental picture that came to my mind always was that poor, semi-clad, ill-fed tenant farmer. That was the picture that came to me of India, not the big cities, or that great architectural remains, or art, or literature. Of course, all of these were there. But essentially this poor, half starved farmer was ever present in my mind and it seemed to me that in the final analysis the progress of India would be judged by the progress of this type of person in India. Well, I have no doubt that he has progressed, he is better off; he is, nearly all over the country, the owner of a small patch of land. It is not very big, very small mostly, but anyhow he is not sat upon and oppressed as he used to be. And yet while on the one hand one has a sense of satisfaction that something has been done, on the other hand there is a feeling of regret that more has not been done, because it is these people ultimately, all over India, who have borne, shouldered the burden of India throughout the ages, and shouldered today also to a large extent, and they have not got much out of it. They are getting more and more now. Well I mention this because in spite of my knowledge of farming being only theoretical to some extent, not practical at all, the only practical knowledge I have, if you like, is a little gardening and horticulture, but in a sense this close contact with the Indian peasant was a factor that very much conditioned me, my thinking and my reactions to other problems. After that, of course a great deal has happened but that memory remains with me and comes back to me repeatedly.

When we began our five year plans here, our first thought was of the Indian farmer. The very first step that we took was to put an end to our big landlord system, which varied from the almost practically feudal conditions with grades and grades of people, something like semi-feudal, or something like that. That was one big step. Since then other efforts have been taken and we have not quite completed this process. Now the picture that comes up in India and it may perhaps not be fully before you, and specially those of you, ladies and gentlemen, who come from more prosperous societies. We have in this great country all kinds of farmers, but the average peasant proprietor probably has about an acre or two of land, that is all. Some, of course, have more. I am talking not only of the average, but the great majority has an acre or so of land. So the problem before us is what to do with the man with an acre or two of land, that man who has no resources, who can barely live a hard life, if the season is good, harvest is good, nothing happens, if it is bad, down he goes. There are no resources about him. He is of course rooted in, and following old methods of agriculture. He works fairly hard, but the amount of work he puts in does not bring him

adequate result because his tools are poor tools and he has not got other facilities, which he ought to have. Or, if you like to put it in another way, Indian agriculture, by and large, leaving out of course some parts of it, which have progressed, is backward. It has to catch up. It is catching up now, but a far more difficult task is to make the individual, the man grow up. It is not so difficult to provide him with fertilizer and perhaps with better tools and some other modern conveniences, and he takes to them easily enough, as soon as he finds out that they are helpful. Nevertheless, the basic problem becomes one of what I would call, modernising our agriculture. When I say that, I am not particularly thinking of huge machines coming and working in our fields. Yes, tractors come and they are used. But we have always to remember the ratio between the land and the human beings living on the land. If you have a vast country, which has relatively a small population then your problem is of a particular type. If you have an overwhelming population then the problem becomes different. In the previous case every labour saving device is helpful. In the second case when the human beings there are more than normally a land can support, labour saving devices, though desirable, create new social problems until you find some other solutions. If I use a large number of tractors no doubt it is good for the land, but a large number of people are kicked out of the land, pushed out. They do not have anything to do. I have to find work for them. For the ultimate analysis I shall have to. There is no doubt about it. If you look at the history of India among other things, one thing might strike you. About one hundred and fifty years ago, or thereabouts, the proportion of people living on and off the land was smaller than it became subsequently. I forget the exact figures, but let us say the proportion was seventy per cent, depending upon the land, or may be seventy-two. Others were engaged in some other occupations, trades, manufactures. It was not an industrialised society of course but manufactures nevertheless, because India was a great textile producing country, handlooms and the like, which were exported to other countries, and many other things. Now gradually you find throughout the 19th century, a process taking place here which was the reverse of the process, let us say, which was taking place in Europe.

In Europe people were going more and more to industry from land, reducing the direct burden on land. In India they were going back to the land, and the occupations they had were gradually closing up, for various reasons. I will not go into that. The result was, that from about seventy-two, seventy-three per cent on land, by the beginning of the 20th century it was approaching ninety per cent living on land, or about eight-six, eighty-seven, whatever it was. It was the reverse of the process happening everywhere, the result being that the burden on land was very great and there was not more land for them, the same land

they shared and the people depending on that land became poorer and poorer, sharing that, subdividing, little patches here and there. That is one explanation of the growing poverty of India during this period. Two things have to be done, as far as one can see. One is to take away people from the land, give them other industries, other occupations, and to have industries—big, small, medium and all kinds, that of course, and at the same time utilise the land to better purpose, in a word, to introduce more modern and scientific methods whether in land or in industry. In other countries it is these methods that have produced, they have added to the production greatly and the wealth of a country, and ultimately to a vast number of new occupations. That is the problem facing us here. It is a big problem anyhow, and the fact that such vast numbers of people are concerned, four hundred million, it becomes bigger still. And behind that all is raising the level of those people, that is not only the living standards, I mean, but raising them, bringing them up to a certain level from their old ways of thinking and methods and all that. Well, we are trying our best, and I believe we are making a definite impression on that problem.

We started some seven years ago our community development movement, not directly for agriculture but intimately concerned with agriculture, concerned with our rural areas and therefore agriculture. But in a sense almost the basic thing about that movement was, what shall I say, making the people of our rural areas, waking them up, shaking them up, making them more alive, putting some initiative in them, making them more self-reliant. Of course, agriculture was the principal way, trying to improve agriculture whatever it was, improving the village, small industries in the village, and all that. It was a psychological change that we were at, apart from the practical change. That movement made remarkable progress. In fact it progressed so much, that it was difficult to keep pace with its progress and we found that it had spread out rather too thinly; because of our eagerness to spread it, it spread in about four or five years to three hundred thousand villages in India. The total number of villages is 550 thousand, small villages of course, many of them. And it did wake up the countryside to a large extent, but as I said, the speed with which we have gone, we could not provide enough trained people to do it, it became rather thin. So we had to hold ourselves back a little, to improve the content of it. That is the present position. We are spreading it slowly, but not as fast as we used to, and trying to make it richer in content.

Then we started, because in all these matters, if you will remember, in many matters we are starting from scratch and we want to do things as rapidly as possible, and we have therefore, to advance on a large number of lines together. It is not a question of advance on one line. Suppose education. We came to the conclusion that education was essential to introduce any

modernisation in agriculture or industry. So we started in a big way with education. It was a very very small percentage; I forget now, ten per cent or something, or twelve per cent, literate people. Of course we started that. That itself was a big enough job. Now today we have at the present moment about thirty million boys and girls in our elementary schools, about ten million are in secondary schools, forty million. Now that is a sizeable figure, forty million, but compared to the population of India, it is far from forty, it is less than half. Probably if we have absolute education as we want to have it, from almost babyhood upwards to the university, one hundred million people would be employed either in teaching or being taught. We have reached the figure of about forty-two million. It is growing every year of course. And we come up against a difficulty again of trained personnel. This thing is going so speedily forward, trained teachers, trained this and trained that. Of course the whole of education is being given a more technical bent. Previously it was a more clerical bent, just clerks, now it is being given a technical, mechanical bent and all that.

Then again, to come back to the rural areas, because all the time we were thinking of making that human being in the village more self-confident, self-reliant, a better man. We started giving him large doses of self-government in the village, and indeed, the present phase is to give our village communities very considerable powers to manage, or mismanage themselves. It is entirely recognised that they will often mismanage, but nevertheless we have decided to give these powers to them, because that is the only way to get going. And we have instructed our officials who do the job all the time, not to mess about too much. Let the other people mess about if they want to. They will advise them of course, our trained officials there, our district officers and others, and we have given them a corps of trained people to advise them, but we want them to feel that they are doing their own job, they have to come to decisions and share the burden. We give them resources for that and we are even transferring to these local bodies, rural bodies, primary education there and all that; and power to tax, within limits, for these purposes. You will see that the objective all the time is to make them stand up on their own feet or legs. According to us each village should have three things: the village council, the village cooperative and the village school. These are three essential things. Of course both the village council or panchayat, as it is called, a group of villagers will form the superior council. I forget the number, it varies, that has larger powers. And so also about cooperatives. We begin with the village co-operative which means chiefly of farmers, but that is built up into larger ones. And then schools. And we feel that we can get these things growing at that foundation. The essence of our structure of government, political and economic, is sound and even if something goes wrong with the top, the foundation is sound. That is how we are trying to proceed.

But of course there are innumerable difficulties. Now that is one aspect.

Now I was telling you, in our First Five Year Plan we laid somewhat greater stress, naturally, on agriculture and food production, because that was obviously the high priority. And that meant in the first plan, building high dams and canals and all that, and power. In the second plan we laid stress on agriculture but the emphasis shifted to industry, because industry was important of course. And we are in the middle of our second plan today. We are building three or four big steel plants which are nearly ready, and various other plants. The whole approach, as intended, was a co-ordinated approach from various fronts. It did not always come off, of course, because one can't. One had to deal with uncertain factors, one had to deal, in the final analysis, with people, how hard people work, how much they cooperate, how much they quarrel, all these factors of course, so that has been our approach. Now we have arrived at a stage where on the one side there are some very hopeful features. We have laid certain foundations, both for our agricultural growth and our industrial growth, and one can reasonably foresee more rapid growth in the future. On the other hand, coming up to that stage itself has produced new problems and very difficult problems. In fact, growth always produces problems of all kinds. And the result is that we are compelled not only by our wishes but by circumstances, by the compulsion of events, to make a tremendous effort to get over this hump into a more dynamic structure and economic structure. We call it, some people do nowadays, a period of take off into a more dynamic society from a static one, when a strong economic structure generates its own power and feeds itself and grows. So while we are nearing that, the problem becomes more and more difficult till we are over the hump. And of course all the time there is something pursuing us, and that is a growing population. The moment we slacken, the problem becomes more difficult. So in effect we are passing through a highly interesting and exciting phase of our history. It is true that the difficulties are tremendous but I think the progress we have made and that we hope to make is not merely wishful thinking but is based on fairly definite calculations. At the same time it all depends on how hard we can work. There is no room for us here as a people for leisure. But of course we do have leisure and we sometimes slacken or are lazy, that is a different matter. But the fact is, in order to get over this hump into a more promised land we have to work hard, and work hard not only in agriculture which is of vital importance, but on the industrial side too. On the industrial side for two reasons; for production of wealth and other things and to draw away people from agriculture, too many about there, and give them other jobs. That is the basic problem.

Now, if you permit me to say something which is perhaps totally irrelevant to this gathering at present, there is, so much has been, and continues to be,

often discussion, argument and controversy about, almost what you might call, ideological reasons. Some controversy there is bound to be among thinking individuals, but the tremendous growth of technology and science and all that, has changed the background of people's lives and thinking so much that the old controversies are really dead controversies, or out of date any way, interesting as historical things, but in not so much relation to life as they might have had in olden days, and every problem becomes a new problem, which has to be considered in the new context. Also we argue here, I believe you have been arguing about the food production in some countries where there is tremendous abundance, in other countries there is a lack of it, not enough; how to balance these things. You see, a state of affairs has arrived where it is difficult for practical reasons, apart from humanitarian, for a good part of the world to be hungry and otherwise in a miserable condition for another part of the world to be very very prosperous and even over-prosperous; one part of the world suffering, sometimes from the consequences of too much prosperity, others of poverty. This kind of thing in a closely knit world, as the world is today, creates new problems and new difficulties, quite apart from the humanitarian aspect. And the only solution of it appears to be, naturally, to raise that part of the world which is down, help it to raise itself, rather. And for the first time in history this can be done. That is to say, it can be shown that it can be done, whether the people do it or not depends upon them. It is a practical possibility, which it was not many years ago for everybody. There is enough all over the world for everybody, or there can be enough rather, and each country can pull itself up, given a little time, a little help and all that. So the real way to meet the problem is to make people, help people, to meet it themselves, meanwhile of course, meeting it in other ways.

So here we are in this country grappling with these problems and with these hundreds of millions of people, and trying to speed up the process of serving these problems, marching ahead and always thinking, if I may say so, of a pilgrimage in which it is not a few who will go ahead, but a whole lot of the people who will go ahead. I was asked once, I think it was in London, "How many problems have you got in India?" I said, "four hundred million problems." It is roughly my calculation of our population in India—thinking in terms of individuals growing and not merely something to show off in Delhi City which you can see and admire and pat us in the back for.

As usual, not being a practical farmer, I could not talk to you about your subject, so I had to talk around it. I am very happy that all of you, ladies and gentlemen, came here and gave us the benefit of your experience and thinking, and perhaps got some idea of this country, and laid down ways and means for closer cooperation to the mutual advantage of all.

Normally, I am asked to inaugurate or open conferences. This is the first time I am asked for the closing session. I do not know if I am supposed to say a kind of *au revoir* to you, or farewell. Anyhow, I am grateful to you for having invited me here today and I wish you well.

75. At the Panchet Hill Dam: Inauguration⁴⁰

दामोदर वैली कांफरेंशन के अफसरान और जिन लोगों ने यहाँ काम किया है, बहिनो और भाइयो,

बहुत बरस हुए जब पहली बार मैं यहाँ आया था यहाँ पंचित हिल नहीं लेकिन इस दामोदर वैली के काम के सिलसिले में जब यहाँ कोई यह बड़े-बड़े काम नहीं बने थे, यह सब जंगल था मैदान था, उस समय मैं यहाँ आया था इसको देखने और उसके बाद बार-बार आना हुआ है, जब-जब कोई काम यहाँ बन चुका तो माईथान⁴¹ और बुखारा और क्या क्या। वहाँ मैं गया और यह जो कार्य हमने शुरू किया था उसको एक-एक कदम बढ़ते हुए मैंने देखा। तो आज मैं यहाँ पंचित हिल डेम के बारे में जो आया हूँ यह कार्य भी पूरा हो गया,⁴² तो मुझे बहुत खुशी है और आप सब लोगों को और विशेषकर जिन लोगों ने यहाँ काम किया है, इंजीनियर लोग और और लोग हमारे कार्यकर्ता उनको मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि आप ही लोगों के काम का यह फल आज हमें दिखता है और खाली हमें आज नहीं दिखता लेकिन यह तो बहुत जमाने तक चलेगा, बहुत बरस चलेगा और इससे लाभ कितने होंगे, लाखों आदमी बंगाल के, बिहार के उठावेंगे, पानी से लाभ उठावेंगे, बिजली से उठावेंगे। तो इसलिए मैं आज यहाँ बहुत खुशी से इस शुभ काम करने के लिए आया हूँ, करने के लिए मैंने कहा, मैं नहीं करूँगा, मैं तो उसमें भाग लेने आया हूँ, यह उचित है, यह ठीक है कि इस काम का आरम्भ इसका शुरू एक यहाँ के, एक आप लोगों में से एक पुराने कारकुन के हाथ से हो, एक जिसने काम किया, जिसने खुद अपने परिश्रम से बनाया इसको।

यह ठीक है हमारे यहाँ आदत हो गई है कि जब कोई बड़ा काम होता है या मकान की नींव डालनी होती है तो कोई बड़े अफसर पकड़ लाए जाते हैं, कई मंत्री आ जाते हैं, कभी-कभी मुझे पकड़ के ले जाते हैं कि लगाओ, नींव डालो। (हंसी)। तो मैंने तो कई दफे कहा कि भाई मेरा पेशा नींव डालने का खाली नहीं है, कुछ और भी काम करने होते हैं, लेकिन यह गलत बात है, बिलकुल गलत और जो आप कर रहे हैं और मैं आपको बात दूँ कि जो आप कर रहे

40. Speech at Panchet, 6 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

41. See SWJN/SS/39/pp.118-119.

42. The Panchet Hill Dam on the Damodar River at Panchet in district Dhanbad, Bihar, was the last and the biggest dam of the DVC project in its first phase. The others were Tilaiya, Kona and Maithon.

हैं इस समय आज यहाँ उसमें मेरा भी कुछ, मेरी भी कुछ सलाह थी वो और मेरी सलाह से यह निश्चय हुआ। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि अब कोई हमारे अफसर लोग और मिनिस्टर लोग यह काम न किया करें बाद में। यह काम वही करेंगे, उन्हीं में से चुना जाएगा जिन्होंने उसको बनाया है, उसको अधिकार है करने का। मैं क्या दिल्ली से आया चन्द घंटे के लिए और व्याख्यान दिया और बटन दबाया, सब हो गया, फिर चला गया दिल्ली। लेकिन आप लोग जो यहाँ बरसों से काम कर रहे हैं, पसीना बहा रहे हैं, कठिनाई उठाई, आप को अधिकार है इसका बटन दबाना या जो कुछ है और इस शुभ काम का आरम्भ करना। तो यह एक बड़ा काम है?

मैं चाहता हूँ और मुझे मालूम नहीं कि जो लोग यहाँ काम करते हैं वो पूरीतौर से समझते हैं कि नहीं कि हमने क्या काम किया, अब तो वह देखते हैं। क्योंकि मुझे याद है कई बरस हुए 5-6 बरस हुए जब मैं यहीं दामोदर वैली के एक भाग में आया था और मुझे हमारे जो नौजवान इंजीनियर थे, उन्होंने बड़े उत्साह से मुझे बताया कि क्या हो रहा है, क्या करने वाले हैं। मुझे उनका उत्साह अच्छा लगा। फिर मैंने उनसे पूछा यह जो पुरुष-स्त्री मिट्टी ढो रहे हैं उनको भी आपने समझाया है क्या आपका, यह योजना है? उन्होंने कहा उनको तो नहीं समझाया। तो मैंने तो उन लोगों को बुलाया, स्त्रियां थीं, पुरुष थे, 100-200 उनको बिठाया, मैंने कहा क्या कर रहे हो? उन्होंने कहा मिट्टी इधर से उधर ले जाते हैं। तो ठीक था। मैंने कहा, क्यों ले जाते हो मिट्टी इधर से उधर? उन्होंने कहा हमको नहीं मालूम, क्यों ले जाते हैं। यह ठीक नहीं था, क्योंकि उनको मालूम होना चाहिए था कि वह जो परिश्रम करते हैं, वह किस काम के लिए, खाली रुपये दो रुपये, तीन रुपये मजदूरी के लिए नहीं रोज, लेकिन एक देश का काम है, एक जनता की भलाई का काम है जिसको कर रहे हैं वो। जिसका कि असर अभी नहीं बल्कि सौ बरस, दो सौ बरस तक रहेगा, पानी जाएगा जनता के पास, बिजली की शक्ति जाएगी, वह बड़ा काम हो जाता है न।

तो आप लोग फिर एक बड़े काम में एक भाग लेते हैं और जब कोई आदमी बड़े काम में भाग लेता है तो पुरुष भी बड़ा हो जाता है उसके साथ यह आप याद रखें। जिन लोगों ने हमारे देश की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई में भाग लिया उससे वह भी बड़े हो गए, क्योंकि बड़ा काम था, इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हमारे इंजीनियर भाई उनको चाहिए कि जो-जो काम करने वाले मजदूर हैं जो कोई हैं उनको बताएँ वह क्या काम है यह किस ढंग से हा रहा है, उनको अपनाएँ, उनको अपना एक साथी समझें, यह नहीं खाली दूर से उनको मजदूर समझ के हम उनसे काम लें। एक साथी समझें, अपनाएं, बताएँ कि देखो जो काम तुम कर रहे हो कितना बड़ा काम है जिसकी तरफ सारा देश देख रहा है और इसका लाभ सौ बरस, दो-सौ बरस तक होगा लाखों करोड़ों आदमियों को। तब उनको जो मिट्टी ले जाए इधर से उधर उनका काम भी ऊँचा हो जाता है, बड़ा हो जाता है, इस ढंग से करना है।

तो इस ढंग से आप सोचें कि यह जो पंचित हिल की यह बांध बनी है, एक बड़ी चीज़ है जिसमें हजारों आदमियों ने दस बरस से काम किया है। लेकिन ऐसे काम भारत में कितने और हो रहे हैं? खाली एक काम तो नहीं है कितने बड़े-बड़े बांध और डैम बने हैं, भाखड़ा में

और कहाँ सारे भारत में, उत्तर, दक्षिण, पूर्व, पश्चिम, कितने बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बने, कितने और काम भारत में हो रहे हैं, यह क्या काम है, कैसे काम है, किसलिए काम है? बहुत सारे बच्चे यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं उनको भी समझाना चाहिए, क्यों बना, यह कैसे बनते हैं, क्या हो रहा है भारत में? आजकल भारत में बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं अपने पुराने देश को एक नया देश बना देना क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि इस नये देश में सब बच्चों की देखभाल बहुत अच्छी तरह हो और बड़ों की भी हो और सब लोग अच्छी तरह से, खुशी से रह सकें, ऐसा भारत हम बनाया चाहते हैं जिसमें कोई भी एक बच्चा या बड़ा न हो जिसको पढ़ने का मौका नहीं मिलता, जिसको घर रहने को नहीं है, जिसको काम करने को नहीं है, जिसको कोई कठिनाई है। ऐसा हम चाहते हैं।

तो हम तो बड़ी यात्रा पर हैं, हम कौन, मैं थोड़े ही आप और हम हम और आप सब, और सारे देश के 40 करोड़ जो लोग हैं वह एक बड़ी यात्रा पर हैं, वो यात्रा है, कि पुराने भारत से लेके नए भारत तक पहुँच जाएँ और यात्रा होती है हमारे कहीं चलने-फिरने से नहीं, परिश्रम से, काम से, उसी भारत में बैठ के।

भारत क्या है, क्या भारत है? आप कहें हमारा देश है, ठीक है लेकिन क्या है, हमारा देश क्या है? खैर नक्शे में बना है। लेकिन आखिर में भारत माता की जय जो आप पुकारते हैं वो भारत माता कौन है? यह बच्चे लोग सुनें, सुनें। वो भारत माता कोई स्त्री थोड़े ही है कहीं छिपी हुई बैठी है कहीं, भारत माता तो हमारा देश है और हमारे देश में बहुत हैं बड़े-बड़े पहाड़ हैं, हिमालय, बड़े-बड़े नदियाँ हैं, गंगा और यमुना और यह दामोदर और क्या क्या, और बड़े जंगल हैं और बड़े शहर हैं, कलकत्ता और बम्बई और दिल्ली और मद्रास और पटना और कौन-कौन। और लाखों ग्राम हैं। यह सब मिलकर भारत होता है। लेकिन उससे भी अधिक भारत क्या है, भारत माता क्या है? भारत माता तो आप लोग हैं, आप और आप, भारत माता हमसे कोई अलग थोड़े है। हम भारत माता हैं। और यों कहो कि हम भारत माता के छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े हैं हम खुद भारत माता तो नहीं हैं। जितने लोग यहाँ बैठे हैं, यह सब लोग एक-एक छोटा टुकड़ा भारत माता का है और सब लोग मिल के देश भर के लोग पुरुष, स्त्री, बच्चे मिलकर आजकल की भारत माता हो जाते हैं। तो हम भारत माता की सेवा करते हैं तो असल में तो अपनी सेवा करते हैं। अपनी और अपने साथियों की, किसी बाहर की थोड़े ही सेवा होती है।

तो इस समय हम एक बड़ी यात्रा पर हैं, हम सब लोग देश के और एक बड़ी लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। हम किसी देश से नहीं लड़ाई लड़ना चाहते हैं, हम सब देशों से मित्रता रखना चाहते हैं, दोस्ती। हमारी बड़ी लड़ाई है देश की गरीबी से, देश की दरिद्रता से। हम चाहते हैं हमारे देश में कोई लोग गरीब न रहें और दरिद्रता न हो, सबको मौका आगे बढ़ने का मिले। अब कैसे हो यह, यह तो बड़ी कठिन बात है, बड़ी मुश्किल बात है, यह कोई जादू से तो नहीं हो जाती और न माला जपने से हो जाती है, न बैठ के ज्योतिष के पास जाने से हो जाती है, ऐसे तो काम चलते नहीं। फिर क्या करें, न कोई-कोई और देश से लोग आके हमारे पास पैसा बांटा करेंगे, यह भी बात नहीं है। हम कोई भीखमंगा देश तो हैं नहीं। हाँ, हमें कोई सहायता मिले

तो ठीक है। हमारा देश आगे बढ़ेगा हमारे परिश्रम से, हमारी जनता के परिश्रम से और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। दुनिया में जितने देश आगे बढ़े हैं वो अपने परिश्रम से, अपने बलिदान से, अपनी वीरता से बढ़े हैं, जनता की। हमें स्वराज हमें लेना था तो अपने परिश्रम और वीरता से और बलिदान से स्वराज हमें मिला देश को। इसी तरह से अब जो हम दूसरी यात्रा पर चल रहे हैं जिससे सारा देश आगे बढ़े उसमें भी परिश्रम से चलना है। जितना कोई देश परिश्रम करेगा उतना ही उसे उसको मिलता है और कोई उपाय नहीं है। आप नारे उठायेँ, आप जुलूस निकालें, आप प्रस्ताव स्वीकार कर दें, तो अच्छा है आपके उत्साह की निशानी है लेकिन उससे कुछ होता नहीं है, खाली परिश्रम से बढ़ता है। और अगर आप भारत की कोई जन्मपत्री देखें, अगर भारत की कोई हो सकती है तो उसमें लिखा हुआ होगा कि जितने भारत के लोग परिश्रम करेंगे उतना ही देश बढ़ेगा, यह तो बनी हुई बात है।

तो फिर आजकल जो हम इस बड़ी यात्रा पर हैं तो उसके बड़े काम, छोटे काम सब देश में हैं। किसान गाँव में रहता है उसके परिश्रम से वह देश को बढ़ा सकता है, अधिक पैदा कर सकता है। मजदूर कारखाने में काम करता है अपने परिश्रम से। इंजीनियर काम करता है अपने परिश्रम से। तो सारे लोगों को अपने परिश्रम से अधिक काम करके अधिक बढ़ाना है, पैदा करना है धन, अपने देश से, देश की जमीन से, देश के कारखाने से। क्योंकि आपने बनाया यह दामोदर वैली में बड़े-बड़े बांध बने किसलिए? बहुत सारी बातें हैं, पानी को जमा किया, एक तो इसलिए कि समय पर खेतों में दिया जा सके पानी, इसलिए कि खेतों में अच्छा पैदा हो सके गल्ला। दूसरे यह जो बाढ़ें आती हैं उनको रोकें। अभी बड़ी बाढ़ आई थी, बहुत हानि हुई उससे और बहुत कुछ उसको रोका भी गया लेकिन इतनी बड़ी थी कि कुछ और चला गया। अब इस पर विचार हो रहा है कि हम क्या करें, बात ठीक है लेकिन बाढ़ को रोकना, खेती के लिए पानी जिससे जनता का लाभ हो और बिजली पैदा हो।

बिजली एक शक्ति है जिससे हजारों कारखाने चल सकते हैं, कारखानों में लोग काम करें, कारखानों से धन पैदा हो। तो यह सब देखें इसी तरह से देश भर में हो रहा है और इस तरह से देश हल्के-हल्के बढ़ रहा है, हम चाहते हैं जोरों से बढ़े, तेजी से बढ़े। तो जहाँ-जहाँ देश के बढ़ने का कोई हम एक पड़ाव पर पहुँचते हैं इस यात्रा में तो दिल खुश होता है। तो इसका पंचित हिल का डैम बनना एक पड़ाव है हमारी यात्रा का, यहाँ पहुँचा तो हमारी तबीयत खुश होती है कि एक बड़ा काम हुआ। लेकिन इसके बाद आराम करके बैठना तो नहीं है, फिर कमर कस के और बढ़ना है, दूसरे पड़ाव पर हम सभी को, आपको, हमें।

तो आप सब लोगों को बहुत बधाई इस काम की। इंजीनियर्स को और एक-एक काम के पुरुष-स्त्री को। बहुत सारी हमारी बहिनें बैठी हैं उन्होंने मेहनत की, मुझे खुशी होती है और इस बात की खुशी है जो इसके काम को आरम्भ करेगा वह भी हमारी एक बहिन है जो इस कार्य को करेगी। उनका नाम है जो स्त्री है आप सब जानते हैं उनका नाम है बुधनी मेझां। और उसके बाद एक दूसरा काम है, मुझे एक पर्दा हटाना है। वो भी यहाँ के कार्यकर्ता रावल माझी करेंगे।

अब मैं दो-चार शब्द अंग्रेजी भाषा में भी कह देता हूँ।

[Translation begins:

Officers and workers of the Damodar Valley Corporation, Sisters and Brothers, When I had come here last, years ago, in connection with the Damodar Valley Project, this entire area was a jungle and no new project had been taken up. Since then I have had to come here again and again and gradually Maithon⁴³ and Bokaro and later this project, were taken up. I have seen it grow step by step. The task of building the Panchet Hill Dam is over.⁴⁴ I am very happy about it and would like to congratulate all of you, particularly the engineers and other workers because what we see before us today is the fruit of your labours. It will endure for years to come and millions of people in Bengal and Bihar will be able to benefit by its waters and the electricity that will be produced.

So I have come here with great alacrity to perform this auspicious task. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say that I have come to participate in this task. I think it would be proper if the inauguration is done by an old Karkun from amongst you, who has himself worked on this project.

It is true that we have got into the habit of catching hold of senior officials, ministers or myself, to lay the foundations or inaugurate buildings and whatnot. (Applause)... I have said repeatedly that it is not my job to lay foundation-stones and I have other tasks to do. What we are doing is absolutely wrong and what you will see here today has been decided upon on my advice. So I hope that our officers and ministers will refrain from doing these tasks in future. They should be performed only by the people who have participated in the actual task and earned the right to do so. I come here from Delhi for a few hours, give a speech and press a button, and off I go. It is you who have been working for years on this project and faced difficulties who have the right to inaugurate it.

A great task has been completed. I do not know if the workers here understand the significance of what they have achieved. I remember visiting the Damodar Valley five to six years ago, and one of our very young engineers told me about everything that has been achieved, and what was proposed to be done. I rather liked his enthusiasm. Then I asked him if he had explained to the workers, the men and women working on the project, what he had told me, and the reply was no. I then called in the men and women; 100, 200 of them, and

43. See fn 41 in this section.

44. See fn 42 in this section.

talked to them. I asked them what they were doing. They said they were carrying loads of earth from one place to another, which was right. Then I asked why they were doing so and they did not know what to say. This was not proper, because they should be made aware of what they are toiling for. They should realise that it is not merely for the small wages that they earn but that they are participating in a great national task, for the good of the people. There are great tasks which will continue to benefit the people for centuries, providing water for irrigation and producing electricity, etc. Please remember that when a human being participates in a great task, he grows in stature. Those who took part in the freedom struggle grew in stature because it was a great task. Therefore it is essential that our engineers should explain to the workers the significance of what they are doing and make them feel that they are partners in the great task rather than distant spectators or mere wage earners. They should be made to realise that the eyes of the nation are upon them and that millions of people will benefit for centuries to come. Even the task of carrying loads of earth becomes significant if they look at it like this.

Thousands of people have worked on this Panchet Hill Dam for ten years. But this is not the only one in India. Innumerable things of this kind are being done, big dams are being constructed, river valley projects have been undertaken all over India, in Bhakra and elsewhere; huge industries are coming up in the North, South, East and West. Why is all this being done? Every single child sitting here must be made to understand why they are being done and how, and what is happening in India today. Great tasks are being done. We want to build a new India. We want that every single child in India should be well looked after and that the people should become well off. We want to build an India where no child or adult is deprived of the opportunity to be educated. We want every single human being in India to have houses to live in, opportunity to work, etc. So we have embarked on a long journey, and by that I mean all the forty crores of Indians, to build a new, modern India out of the old. We can achieve our goal only by working hard.

What is India? You may say that she is our country. You can see that on the map. But ultimately who is this Bharat mata whom we shout Jai to? The children must listen to this carefully. Bharat Mata is not a woman hiding somewhere. Bharat Mata is our country. India, with huge mountains like the Himalayas, and mighty river like the Ganga, Yamuna and others, jungles and cities; Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Patna and millions of little villages. All these together make up India. But more than that, it is the people of India. You, I, and all of us who are the Bharat Mata, or let me put it this way, that we are all small parts of this huge country. All those who are seated here are small parts of Bharat Mata, it is the men, women and children, who together make up Bharat Mata. So

service of Bharat Mata actually means service of the people, our friends and colleagues.

We have embarked upon this long journey. We are engaged in a great battle in this country. We do not wish to fight with anyone. We want to be friendly with all countries. Our war is against the poverty in the country. We want to eradicate poverty from India and ensure that everyone gets an equal opportunity for advancement. It is an extremely complicated and difficult matter and cannot be done by magic or by counting heads or consulting the astrologers. We cannot expect others to come and help us monetarily, or otherwise. After all, we are not a nation of beggars. We will gladly take whatever help is given. But ultimately it is only by the hard work, sacrifice and courage of the people that we can hope to progress as the other advanced countries have done. We got freedom because we worked hard for it and made sacrifices. Similarly, we will have to work very hard to achieve the goals that we have set for ourselves. A country can progress only so far as its people's capacity to work hard. There is no other way. It is all very well to shout slogans, take out processions or pass resolutions. They may show your enthusiasm but will not take very far. It is only hard work that counts. If you were to read India's horoscope, you will find that it says she will progress as much as her people are willing to work hard. This is a foregone conclusion.

There are both big as well as small tasks in the great task of nation-building. A farmer can contribute to it by increasing production. A worker in the factory can produce more goods. An engineer works hard for the sake of the country. In this way, everyone must work hard and increase production in the country so that the wealth of the nation increases in every way. Why are we undertaking these big river valley projects, like the Damodar Valley and others? It is to ensure water supply for irrigation, so that the agricultural production may increase. Secondly, they help to control the flood waters and minimize the damage that they cause. Recently, there were terrible floods which caused great havoc. We are deliberating about what can be done to control them. Thirdly, electricity will be generated which will benefit the people in various ways. Electric power is used to run industries, which again means new wealth in the country.

So in this way, India is gradually marching forward. We want that the process should be speeded up. Wherever we reach a goal, it is a matter of jubilation. The completion of the Panchet Hill Dam is yet another goal and we have the satisfaction of having achieved something. But we cannot afford to relax or slacken. We will have to tighten our belts and move forward with a firm determination towards the next goal.

I congratulate all of you on completing the task, all the engineers, every

man and woman, who have participated in this task. I am very happy that it is a woman who will inaugurate this.

Now I shall say a few words in English.

Translation ends.]

[Speech in English follows]

Friends,

During the last I don't know how many years, seven or eight years or more perhaps I have been coming repeatedly to this area covered by the Damodar Valley Corporation right from the early days, when there was nothing to be seen here, except forests and rather wasteland. Gradually, I have seen it grow and I have often come here on important occasions and some great piece of work was finished. I am happy, therefore, to be here today on this auspicious occasion, when this Panchet Dam is going to be opened. And I wish to express my particular pleasure that this auspicious act which is going to be done by a worker who was a labourer in building this dam and woman worker more especially.

Now, in the last few months as you will know, there have been great floods, great floods in West Bengal, which have done grievous damage to life and property. And some people have said, have criticised this Damodar Valley Scheme of works on the grounds that we have spent so much money here and you have promised that this will prevent floods and still these floods come. What is the good of all this business of when we spend a hundred crores much more than that and yet, we have not escaped these floods. Their resentment against floods is justified of course. But, I don't think, it is right to blame the Damodar Valley Corporation for floods or its failure to prevent this particular flood which exceeded in intensity, any flood that had been known previously. It is a good thing to learn from experience, it is a good thing to confess if we have done something wrong. We should never stick to a wrong step. But it is not a good thing that when some unfortunate thing happens, we want to cast the blame on all and sundry just to lighten our own burden.

A grave thing happened in Bengal [...] floods which caused much damage. Firstly, the people who suffered from them had suddenly to be looked after and helped. Secondly, it became essential, that our best engineers in India should carry out a rapid survey of this entire division. Have we gone wrong anywhere? If so, we should correct them. What other steps we should take and so on and so forth. And therefore some of our top most engineers have been told to do this work and they have been carrying on this enquiry. And I hope that very

soon we shall have a report because on that report will depend how we proceed further, when we undertake great works when we undertake the greatest and mightiest of all works, that is the progress of four hundred million people of India, we must prevent, that we should, we may well make mistakes, we may well step occasionally, it doesn't matter, if we have to strengthen to get up and walk ahead.

Again, we have perhaps too much of the habit to start blaming each other all the time, certainly pull up any one who goes wrong. But we spend half of our time in blaming each other, instead of working. The result is that sometimes people dare not do a big job, dare not take great responsibilities, because in every big job, there is an element of risk. Now, I want to develop a mentality in this country, which will face every risk and all the time face risks and not seek security and be afraid of not doing things. (Applause) Nothing big is done in the world without facing risk and dangers. And surely we do not expect this building up of a new India to be an easy soft job. It is a tremendously difficult job involving hard work, hard labour and many risks and I want all the people who are engaged in this to possess such attributes. So, I congratulate you all those who have been associated in this work and great engineers and all the workers, men and women, and now I am going to invite this young lady worker to come and perform the opening ceremony of this Panchet Damodar Valley...This young lady worker, who has been here I am told seven, eight years from the beginning. She is very young even now and she has been here from the very beginning....Her name is Budhni Mejhan. (Applause)

76. To N.V. Gadgil: Slocum's Grievances at Bhakra-Nangal⁴⁵

December 9, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

I have received a copy of a letter addressed to you by Slocum.⁴⁶ It is difficult for me to understand all that he has written, except that he is dissatisfied and in his view something important should be done. For facility of reference, I am sending you the copy he has sent me. I hope you will look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

45. Letter.

46. Harvey Slocum, Chief Engineer of Bhakra Dam Project.

[Food Limits Population]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



It says they are thinking of creating a Ministry for population control—I think it will be merely duplicating the work the Food Ministry is already trying to do!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 3 NOVEMBER 1959)

77. In the Rajya Sabha: Ajit Prasad Jain and State Trading in Foodgrains⁴⁷

Nawab Singh Chauhan:⁴⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he has seen the articles by Ajit Prasad Jain,⁴⁹ ex-Minister of Food and Agriculture, which were published in the *Times of India*, Delhi Edition, of the 3rd November and in its earlier issue, in which he characterised the decision taken by the National Development Council in respect of production and distribution of foodgrains as unauthorised and has criticised State Trading in Foodgrains; and,
- (b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, how far Government consider his views to be based on facts?

The Prime Minister (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) Yes.

(b) Ajit Prasad Jain's articles refer to the revision of targets of agricultural production under the Second Five Year Plan and the acceptance by the National Development Council of the scheme for State trading in foodgrains. The facts bearing on these decisions are briefly as follows:

(1) In May 1956, when the National Development Council considered the Draft Second Five Year Plan, it came to the conclusion that the targets for agri-cultural production in the Plan were inadequate and should be revised upwards in consultation with States. After detailed examination in cooperation with State Governments, revised agricultural targets were announced in November 1956. These envisaged an increase of about 25 per cent in food production and of about 28 per cent in agricultural production as a whole compared to 16 per cent and 17 per cent respectively in the Draft Plan.

(2) In 1958, the National Development Council held two meetings, in May and again in November, to consider the question of reducing the outlay in the public sector under the Second Five Year Plan in view of the gap in internal and external resources. The Council recommended that if the five-year outlay was to be maintained even at Rs. 4,500 crores, it was essential that prices should be stabilised. To achieve this objective, it was necessary

47. 9 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 1864-73.

48. Congress.

49. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 642-648.

that the State should take over wholesale trading in foodgrains.⁵⁰ Accordingly, the Council proposed that a detailed scheme for State trading in foodgrains should be worked out under which, to begin with, wholesale traders would be licensed and State Governments could take from them such proportion of their purchases as might be considered necessary. In consultation with State Governments, a scheme was drawn up and announced in Parliament in April 1959 by the Minister of Food and Agriculture.

(3) The recommendations of the National Development Council, both for the revision of agricultural targets and the introduction of State trading in foodgrains, were made after careful consideration by Chief Ministers of States and the representatives of the Central Government, including the Minister of Food and Agriculture.

(4) In both cases the advice given by the National Development Council was within its competence. Under the Resolution of the Government of India of August 1952, the Council has to consider important questions of social and economic policy affecting national development and to recommend measures for the achievements of the aims and targets set out in the national plan. The Council makes its recommendations to the Central and State Governments, and the responsibility for taking decisions rests with them.

“The Council, neither by law nor by nature, is competent to take such decisions of national importance.”

“It acts as a super-Cabinet. It is not authorised to take such decisions. Only the Cabinet can take such decisions.”

Mr. Chairman:⁵¹ The answer says:

“The Council makes its recommendations to the Central and State Governments, and the responsibility for taking decisions rests with them”. This is what the answer says.

50. An article in the *AICC Economic Review*, 15 November 1958, claimed that the Council had taken cognizance of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee's recommendation for “progressive socialization” of wholesale foodgrains trade. It led to speculation that this would end the zonal arrangement for foodgrains.

51. S. Radhakrishnan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather embarrassing for me to deal with a letter written in the press by a colleague who was the Food Minister, especially in his absence. However, I do not think these charges are wholly justified. That is to say, first of all, as you yourself have been pleased to remark, these are recommendations which State and Central Governments consider. Secondly, when this matter came up, it is true, it had not been considered in detail. Nevertheless, it was discussed there and the recommendation was made that it should be worked out. Later on, of course, it was worked out and every State Government was consulted. Subsequent steps were taken by the State Governments and each State Government functioned as it thought, best. It was not a uniform policy.

As for the resources to be given for this, I am afraid that our ex-Food Minister's memory has not served him rightly in this matter.⁵² I have got all the figures with me; it would take too long to go into them. In spite of the fact that the total outlay had to be reduced from Rs. 4,800 to Rs. 4,500, the outlay on food production was kept at the same figure. Of course, it is true that every State Government has been constantly asking, let us say, for more fertilizers to be imported. That is a constant demand. In that sense, no doubt, it was true that we could not go on importing because of certain limits, financial and others, but every effort was made to give them the maximum possible. Compared to the other demands upon us, the least diminution was made in regard to food demands and what was required for increasing food production. I have got the figures of the amount spent on various items, not only on fertilizers, but also on other local schemes, etc. for which large sums of money were allocated.

52. A.P. Jain to Nehru, 20 December 1959: "As you would recollect, the two articles which I wrote in the Times of India were the subject matter of interpellations in the Rajya Sabha on the 9th instant. Referring to my complaint that when in 1956 the food targets had been raised from ten million to fifteen million tons, despite the recommendation of the Agriculture Ministers, made at the Mussoori Conference, no new allocations of money had been made for achieving those targets, you are reported to [have] said that my memory had not served me right. You are also reported to have said that you had a list of such allocations, but it was too long to read out. I have tried to scratch my memory, but I do not recollect any new allocations having been made at the time of raising the targets. I shall be grateful, if I am favoured with the following information:

- (1) Dates, amounts and purposes of allocations made at the time of raising the targets in 1956.
- (2) Date, amounts, and purposes of allocations made subsequent to the raising of the targets.
- (3) Referring to allocations in reply to (2) which were new and which were diversions from other allocations already existing in the plan." File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS.

N.M. Lingam:⁵³ Apart from the question of competence of the National Development Council to make recommendations, did Mr. Jain, at the time of the discussion of these important issues, express strong difference of opinion as he has done now? If not, is it not dangerous that Cabinet Ministers should talk with so much of mental reservation in arriving at important decisions?

Dr. R.B. Gour:⁵⁴ They become wiser after they quit.

Mr. Chairman: The question is whether he expressed any strong difference of opinion. If he did not, is it not dangerous to have mental reservations with which they come out later on?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult to answer about mental reservations. I have no recollection of the detailed discussion there but I have also no recollection of Mr. Jain objecting to it strongly. Possibly—speak without remembering clearly—he might have said that this might involve some difficulties or something like that. I do not think there was any basic objection.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: Is this statement made by Ajit Prasad Jain that the question of State Trading in foodgrains was brought by the Prime Minister when it was not on the agenda and had not been considered previously by the Planning Commission, correct?

Mr. Chairman: Do we discuss the proceedings of the Cabinet here? We don't.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: It is not the Cabinet, Sir.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The question before the National Development Council—I have not got the agenda before me—the principal question for which it was convened was food production and food distribution. This particular item, so far as I can remember, was not on the agenda, but the whole question was there. As a matter of fact this question was so much before us that we had convened an informal meeting, a committee of Chief Ministers rather, previously. They happened to be here in another connection. We discussed with them; then

53. Congress.

54. Congress.

we said we might have a full meeting that has been going on. I cannot answer for the Planning Commission—that part of it—but this question has been in its various forms before the Planning Commission and before other Governments for a considerable time.

Bhupesh Gupta: The hon. Prime Minister said in his answer that the National Development Council recommended it. I know, Sir that Cabinet proceedings cannot be discussed; I anticipated it, but we are entitled to discuss the decisions of Government. May I know whether any formal decision by the Government of India was taken in regard to the recommendation for State Trading by the National Development Council and, if so, whether after the decision has been taken the Prime Minister and the Government saw to it that the Minister in charge of Food and Agriculture was carrying out and implementing the decision that had been taken with regard to State Trading, because the matter has been absolutely ignored by the previous Minister?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Immediately after the recommendations of the National Development Council, a Committee of Secretaries was set up—it is there—and was asked to consider this. That is, the Food and Agriculture Ministry took the initiative in this matter and this Committee was set up. In it, of course, the Food and Agriculture Ministry was represented and it took a great deal of part. They took a fairly considerable time in going into all aspects of it and produced a lengthy report which was considered by the Cabinet and—I cannot remember with some variations accepted. But again this was not a matter for implementation directly by the Centre so much as by the States. So this report was circulated and their answers came in and then further directions were sent and this process went on for some weeks and months. And many States implemented it in varying ways because conditions are somewhat different. The Food and Agriculture Ministry throughout this period was trying to put these recommendations on to the States for their consideration and corresponding with them and advising them.

Bhupesh Gupta: From the Prime Minister's own statements at different places, at public meetings and otherwise, and also from the statements on the floor of the House and in the other House, we were given to understand that the Government had accepted State Trading as a policy. And I understand that the matter should be communicated to the States. May I know whether proper steps were taken—not only sending some casual letter—to see that the policy of State Trading in foodgrains was put into operation and may I also know whether it has been brought to his attention

by various people that despite the decision of the Government neither the State Governments which are under the Congress Party, nor the Centre were at all carrying out this policy with regard to State Trading?

Mr. Chairman: The Government took a decision; the Cabinet approved and communications were sent to the State Governments for their implementation and the Prime Minister has said that the Food and Agriculture Ministry has been pushing this process through. Is it not so?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is so, but I would only add this: we realised right from the beginning that the implementation of it might vary in different States. Conditions are different and naturally they have autonomy in this matter. So even in the instructions sent to them there was some flexibility for them to determine how to do it. Some succeeded in some small measure; some did not. That was the result.

Bhupesh Gupta: Did the Food Minister later bring it to the notice of the Prime Minister that a number of States having received the communication from the Centre had refused to implement this policy and whether in the light of this kind of refused and, if so...

Mr. Chairman: It is a hypothetical question. Whether they have refused and, if so...

Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, I know that they have refused. Let him deny it because then I will have to produce this refusal. The Government adopted a policy and sent a communication to the States. I put it to the House that negative reactions from a number of States were sent to the Food Minister—not to the Prime Minister—and I want to know whether this matter was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister and whether the Government considered the question in the light of this kind of negative reaction.

Jawaharlal Nehru: This policy, Sir, depended very greatly on the amount of foodgrains which could be procured. Now, some States procured some amount; some pointed out the difficulties in procuring as much as they wanted to; some went, in fact, rather far ahead in trying to procure, so far ahead that the arrangement did not function and the response was not good and therefore they had to change their policies. All these difficulties came up but I cannot remember a single case where any State Government rejected this advice completely or refused to adopt it. They functioned to the best of their ability and pointed out

their difficulties occasionally.

Sonusing Dhansing Patil:⁵⁵ The two articles written by the Food Minister give an impression that the Minister of Food at the Centre is in an embarrassing position on account of the decisions of the National Development Council as well as the Planning Commission and the State Ministers and that there is no coordination. How far is it satisfactory to put the Minister in such an embarrassing position?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite understand that.

78. At the World Agricultural Fair⁵⁶

Your Excellencies,⁵⁷ friends,

I am somewhat embarrassed on this occasion because I do not know the protocol and formalities when there are two Presidents present. How to address them? But in spite of the office I occupy, I have never been able to reconcile myself to protocol, but I do recognise an occasion, which is an auspicious occasion, a good occasion (Applause) and when I say auspicious, I am not referring to the stars, whom some people consult to find out an auspicious time or day. We do not consult the stars in this way. Nor do we consider ourselves the victims of some implacable destiny which pushes us on in a particular direction but when good men meet for a good cause, it is on auspicious occasion. (Applause) And today as we are gathered here now, what can be more auspicious, both in the cause that this exhibition here represents and our honoured guests who are here to bless it. Therefore, indeed it is doubly auspicious and we are doubly blessed.

India today stands poised for new adventures. India rooted in her long past, and with all that past in her blood still, with her eyes, looks forward to the future and we think today of experimenting with all the new devices of science, technology and the like trying to make up for our deficiency in the past. I have no doubt that we shall go ahead in that line but, however, science and technology progress, mother earth remains and it is mother earth that has sustained us, sustained the world through these thousands of years and it is well, that we

55. Congress.

56. New Delhi, 11 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

57. Rajendra Prasad and Eisenhower.

remember that fact and not lose ourselves too much in the machines that are so important today. When we think of mother earth, we think of agriculture and we think all the bounties that come to us from mother earth through agriculture. However much we in India may progress, as we undoubtedly will in the domains of science and industry. The basic fact remains that agriculture is of primary significance to our country and in a way to the world.

Therefore, this particular occasion of this World Agricultural Fair is of vital importance to us. It represents so many things for which we stand and for which we crave. It represents the basic industry of India—agriculture. It represents that striving for raising our people, giving them the means of satisfying their hunger and their primary necessities of life. It means also the great cooperative effort which is necessary to this end, cooperative effort within the nation of which the symbol is the great cooperative movements of the world in agriculture and in other fields. But this Fair also represents the cooperation of nations far removed from each other, not only in distance but sometimes even in their ways of thinking. However much they may differ, I do believe that those differences which sometimes trouble us today are not so basic as perhaps people imagine and the essential unity of human striving remains the same and will remain the same. And here in this Agricultural Fair, you see, this common effort regardless of difference in ideologies or thinking or action, the common effort to serve and improve humanity.

We in India have a long, long past. From remote ages we have progressed and sometimes slipped by the way and fallen and picked ourselves up again to go forward. All that past occupies some corner of our mind. We cannot forget it entirely. We do not wish to forget it, for we are what that past has made us, and we shall hold to that past but we shall not hold to it as something which must envelop us and prevent our growth because ultimately we look to the future and we hope to make good in that future. So, today, on the straight and narrow path leading from the past to the future we stand poised on the edge of a sword, you might say, with many perils and many dangers but I hope that a stout heart will lead us to the goal of our desire.

So in this world today, the call is for ever greater cooperation between individuals, between groups, between nations. That call is embodied in the words sometimes used of world peace, which is so aptly represented by you, Sir, who have come to honour us here. (Applause) And that cause, I think, perhaps is represented not so much in arguments but in the work people do. Whether that work is in agriculture or in industry, that work is the same. I have not heard yet of some kind of agriculture affected by some ideology and different from some other ideological agriculture. Nor have I heard of the sciences of chemistry, physics or any other science being affected by some ideological

thinking. People who think about problems, people who work in trying to solve problems forget these differences. They have common pains, unraveled knots. They have to peep into the future, a future which will be the making of human beings or at any rate the discovery of which will be due to human beings. So, with all our difficulties and with all our problems in India, we are full of excitement because we face this future. And we intend to face it with all our strength and with all, if I may say so, that mixture of the old and new which is India of today because we cannot let go of the old and we must hold on to the new. And if we can succeed in forming a proper synthesis of our old ideas and principles and the urges of the modern world, then indeed it is good for us and for the world. We shall strive to that end humbly, not in arrogance of spirit but with humility, with tolerance to all. At any rate, we shall try to do so, and if we fall sometimes, I hope you will pull us up. And it is in that spirit that I come here to this great Fair today.

The Fair may be a good one, I suppose it is a good one but something behind that fair, something behind this gathering, something behind the visit of the President of the United States to this country at this special hour is more important than all these external manifestations. It is something deeper and it is because that deeper cord has struck the hearts of our people that you, Sir, have seen those exhibitions of popular love and enthusiasm which have been so evident since you came two days ago. You are a great person in your own right. You are the leader of a great nation. All that is worthy of honour and respect and whenever you might have come here, you would have been honoured greatly. But sometimes there is something greater than honouring the Head of a State or even a great man, that something which appeals to the heart of man, not merely to the mind, and we in India have been conditioned always throughout our history to honour people in a peculiar way. Our greatest leader of modern times was a man, neither of wealth nor of military might, nor of position, yet millions of India bowed down their heads before him and tried to follow his great lead. That is the type of man we honour and I hope that is the type of man we shall always honour even in the modern world which appears to be so different. So, we have honoured you, Sir, because of many reasons, but above all because you have found an echo in the hearts of our millions and I hope and believe that your coming here will be a blessing to us and blessing to all.

Thank you. (Applause)

79. To Partap Singh Kairon: Waterlogging in Punjab⁵⁸

December 16, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th December, with which you sent me the report by Dr. H.L. Uppal⁵⁹ on the subject of waterlogging in the Punjab. I am glad that this matter has been gone into by him fairly thoroughly. I can, of course, give no opinion about the various proposals he has made. In the long run, there can be little doubt that the gain from additional foodgrains and other agricultural produce will more than counterbalance the expenditure incurred.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

80. To N.V. Gadgil: Slocum's Grievances over Bhakra-Nangal⁶⁰

December 17, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of December 16th about Bhakra.⁶¹

Slocum came to see me today on his way to America. He appeared to be very unhappy. He did not discuss with me any particular matter. But he said that his usefulness in Bhakra had come to an end. His particular grievance was that some work, to which he attached importance and which was apparently going on was stopped without any reference to him. I could not find out what particular work he was referring to. I asked him if the General Manager had done this. He said no; Khosla had given the orders to stop this and that he was not informed about it. It was only casually that he had heard about it.

58. Letter.

59. Director, Punjab Irrigation and Power Research Institute.

60. Letter. File No.17 (50)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

61. Gadgil briefed Nehru on the Bhakra Control Board meeting of 15 December 1959. The Board had followed Slocum's advice in the past; but it needed time to consider his recent plan to blow up a hill to cover the mouth of the tunnel. It decided to consult geologists, which Slocum opposed. He was called to the meeting to present his case. Gadgil described him as "dogmatic and in a mood of non-cooperation". The matter was postponed till January 1960.

Slocum complained and said that it was not possible to work if orders are countermanded and if everyone was in command. There can be only one Captain on a ship and only one General in an Army. One might understand some decision being reversed after full consultation. But to do so without even reference to others does not appear to be the right way of dealing with things.

I am just putting to you what he said. Not knowing the facts, I can say nothing about them. The point is that Slocum has got this impression, even though the impression is wrong. We can only get good work out of him if he feels that he has a place there and is not bypassed. I know, and you know, that he is a difficult person to get on with. At the same time his ability and his devotion to Bhakra are clear.

He told me that he was going to America at the instance of the Bhakra Control Board for consultations there. He would either return about the 7th or 8th of January or not return at all.

I could not make out what this trouble in Bhakra was due to. Was it due to the subject of your letter or some other matter?

Reading your letter it seems to me obvious that the geologist should fully examine the place before anything is done which involves any grave risk.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

81. To S.K. Patil: Food Zones and Madhya Pradesh⁶²

December 22, 1959

My dear S.K.,

Dr. Kailas Nath Katju was here today. He said he was much worried about the uncertainty in regard to our policy relating to food zones. Whatever has to be done should be done quickly and after full consideration of the consequences. He is afraid that in the event of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh being put in one zone, the immediate result will be great profit to some big dealers and the peasantry will get little out of it. However, the point is he wants a full discussion on all these subjects so that quick decisions might be arrived at.

62. Letter to the Minister of Food and Agriculture. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS.

He wanted to meet you here, but you are not here, nor is Ghosh, your Secretary. I suggest that you might send Ghosh⁶³ as soon as possible to Bhopal to discuss these matters with Dr. Katju and his Food Minister.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

82. To S.K. Patil: Agricultural Innovation⁶⁴

Santiniketan
December 23, 1959

My dear S.K.,

I am writing this from Santiniketan. A friend here has given me a paper giving the results of an experiment conducted at the State Agricultural Farm at Suri, Birbhum. The experiment was in the use of basic slag with paddy straw on paddy. The results appear to be very significant. With paddy straw, the yield went up greatly. With basic slag, it went even more. When the two were taken together, the yield was very considerable indeed.

There is no lack of paddy straw. As for slag also there is apparently plenty of it and it is hardly put to any use.

I enclose the paper he gave me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

63. B.B. Ghosh.

64. Letter. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

83. To S.K. Dey: René Dumont on Indian Agriculture⁶⁵

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
December 25, 1959

My dear Dey,

I wonder if you have seen an article in the *New Statesman* of December 19, entitled "India's Agricultural Defeat".⁶⁶ This article is written by Professor René Dumont of Paris. He was a member of the U.N. Commission for Evaluating Community Development Schemes.

I suppose, what he says in this article is mentioned in the report of this Commission. I have not read that report yet. This article is a little disturbing. It is good to see ourselves as others see us and to take warning from what they say.

I am sending a copy of this article to all our Chief Ministers.⁶⁷

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

65. Letter. Copied to G.B. Pant, Morarji Desai, S.K. Patil and V.T. Krishnamachari.

66. René Dumont (b. 1904). French agricultural expert, *Professor*, Institute of Political Studies, Paris, 1946-66; visited India in 1959.

Dumont wrote this article after a study tour of the Community Development Schemes in the winter of 1958. He pointed to deficiencies in Indian planning, especially in comparison with China. His critique focused on the caste system; the absence of a robust Tenancy Act to control misappropriation by zamindars; poorly designed irrigation; water underused for lack of double cropping; usury as the "greatest evil" of Indian agriculture, and so on. He recommended raising agricultural production, cutting imports, increasing exports, and population control. He concluded with the unsettling question, "Can India achieve a real social revolution, abolishing castes and reducing the grosser inequalities, using non Communist methods?"

67. See item 85.

84. To A.P. Jain: American Penetration of Indian Banking⁶⁸

Anand Bhawan

Allahabad

December 25, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I have your letter of December 23,⁶⁹ in which you draw my attention to a report that Krishak Sewak Samaj is trying to get financial aid from the United States for the purpose of establishing an agricultural bank. I am enquiring into this matter.

You wrote to me on December 20 in connection with a reply I had given in Parliament. I referred that matter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, and he has sent me a letter, which I enclose in original.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

85. To Chief Ministers: René Dumont⁷⁰

December 27, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

I enclose a copy of an article which has appeared in the *New Statesman* of London on the 19th December 1959.⁷¹ This article is by Professor René Dumont of Paris. He was a member of the recent U.N. Commission for evaluating community development schemes in India.

This Commission has issued a report⁷² which I think has already been sent to you by our Planning Commission. If not, I suggest that you write for it. It is important that we should know what outside observers think of the work we have been doing and, more especially, of the faults they have pointed out.

68. Letter.

69. A. P. Jain said this reminded him of a similar attempt made by the Americans to penetrate the Indian Cooperative movement by "tempting" an official of the ICU.

70. A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

71. See item 83.

72. The report observed that the hierarchical growth of the official machinery had given a great setback to the programme as its "original impetus and clarity of vision" had been lost and the official handling these works were "out of touch with reality." It stressed the need for undertaking small irrigation works.

Professor Rene Dumont's article, which I enclose, makes distressing reading. I think that he has exaggerated, and the picture he has presented is not a balanced one. Nevertheless, what he has said must command our attention, and the faults he has pointed out are there. We have got into the habit of drawing up plans and then imagining that they will be fully and quickly implemented. As a matter of fact, this does not happen. The U.N. Commission has pointed out that there is a "widespread confusion in India between what is intended and what, in fact, exists." This is a hard judgement, and yet I think it has a good deal of truth in it.

In today's papers, there is a report of a speech delivered by the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Shri H.V.R. Iyengar, at Baroda. In this speech he refers to the U.N. Commission's report and lays particular stress on the inadequacy of our administrative machinery to give effect to the changes that we so much desire. He says that such machinery should "respond to the new impulses of a national government dedicated to the task of improving the lot of the common man." Undoubtedly our governments are devoted to this task. What then happens to prevent our wishes and decisions being translated into facts?

That is a matter of grave importance. It is important, of course, to make the right decisions and to have the right objectives. But our objectives and decisions do not take us far unless they take shape in actual achievements. It has become increasingly clear that our administrative machinery is not wholly suited to this task. This is not the fault of the men or the machinery because, by and large, they are competent. It is rather the fault of the complicated procedures which involve great delay, and delay is not only exceedingly wasteful, but also encourages corruption.

We can no longer afford this kind of thing with the grave crises that face us. We are giving earnest thought to these matters in our Central Cabinet. I hope that you and your Government will also consider these matters with all the urgency and care that they deserve.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

86. To P. S. Deshmukh: US Tours for Farmers⁷³

December 29, 1959

My dear Panjabrao,

Your letter of the 29th December about sending twenty Indian Farm Leaders to the U.S.A. under the T.C.M.⁷⁴ programme. I am not very anxious to encourage people to go out of India for these foreign financed tours. However, in the special circumstances you have mentioned we might agree to this particular proposal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Industry

87. At UN Seminar: Inauguration⁷⁵

Mr. Chairman,⁷⁶ Excellencies, Delegates to the Seminar

It is very kind of you to have invited me on this occasion.⁷⁷ I accepted your kind invitation gladly and yet with a measure of reluctance. Gladly because I wanted to welcome you here on behalf of the Government of India and also because I feel that the subject you are going to discuss viz., management of public enterprises, is of great importance in this region of South East Asia, certainly to us in India and, I believe, to all the other countries in this region also. With reluctance, because I cannot possibly give you any particular help in discussing the subject which presumably is meant for some kind of experts. I do not know if all those gathered here are experts or some of them are like me, politicians who pose as experts.

73. Letter to the Minister of State for Agriculture. Copied to S. Dutt.

74. Technical Cooperation Mission. See SWJN/SS/42/p.116.

75. Speech at the U.N. Seminar on Management of Public Industrial Enterprises in the ECAFE Region, New Delhi, 1 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

76. Manubhai Shah.

77. The ten day seminar was held to promote international trade, commerce and tourism. About hundred experts from within the ECAFE region, as well as the United Kingdom and USSR, participated in the seminar jointly sponsored by the United Nations and the GOI. See *National Herald*, 2 December 1959.

Anyhow, the fact is that out of all this welter of controversy and sometimes ideological debate, certain matters have begun to take shape in people's minds. I have often found that many of the subjects which give rise to a great deal of controversy, when dealt with on some kind of a theoretical or ideological plane, become much more easy to discuss when you forget the ideologies and deal with practical matters which you want.

So, in the present stage, the whole of South-East Asia is naturally primarily concerned with its economic development, and under the term 'economic', I include many things which flow from it or which are attached to it. How is that to be done? That is the tremendous problem which all our countries have to face. How are we to develop so that our economies become dynamic, self-generating, self-feeding and thereby laying the foundations for progress, continuous progress. Now, the very fact of an underdeveloped economy in a country comes in the way of its progress. For progress which is based on capital formation, you want investment, the larger the better for returns and the fact that a country is underdeveloped shows that it has not got much to invest or it is not easy for capital formation to take place at the rate desired. So everywhere we come across this difficulty one has to face.

It may be as many countries have done in the West with aid from other countries in various kinds, in various ways, but essentially the burden has to fall on the country itself and the people themselves. There is no way to avoid that and if, by any chance, it was avoided I do not think it would be desirable. There is something much more than financial or money resources that are involved. What is involved is the spirit of the nation, the spirit of standing up on its own feet and legs, of self-reliance and even of endurance and determination which is, after all, the most important thing that a people can have. And there is the danger that if that spirit lessens and the people do not feel that way, then all the crutches in the world would not make them healthy, though that help is needed and is welcome.

Now, again dealing with these problems of development, especially in underdeveloped countries, we have to face this that our resources are relatively limited and we want to do many things. How to do them? What priorities to give? How to develop and lay the foundations of an economy which can develop? Obviously, all this requires planning, a planned approach. What is a planned approach? A thought out logical approach, so that each step might lead to other steps and this should not be left just to happenings that might take place with any proper direction. The result is that this question of planning comes up before us. I suppose all these countries in South-East Asia think on these lines and plan or rather if you like, think out various processes which they have to adopt, in order to progress as rapidly as possible.

Speaking for India, we deliberately took up planning many years ago or practically immediately after our independence. In fact, even before independence, we had given a good deal of thought to it but necessarily that planning was rather in the air because we could not give effect to it. Only Governments can really give effect to it and we were in the opposition, very much in the opposition, not only in the Assemblies or Parliament, but if I may say so, in the streets and the fields, and elsewhere. Nevertheless, we gave thought to it because we felt that, when time came, it would be essential to have this organized logical thought out approach, taking advantage of modern thinking, modern experience. Our case and the case of other countries here was obviously different from the case of countries which were industrially developed. The economic approach of those countries is that of a well developed economy, of a dynamic economy, of an industrialised economy.

We had to start, in a sense, almost from scratch. So merely to copy those other countries or to think on those lines did not help us too much. It did help us somewhat. But the problems that were posed in those countries were different from the problems in the under-developed countries. We realized that, and in theory everybody realized it, but in practice most of us did not think so. But as we proceeded, both in theory and practice, in planning here, we discovered an obvious fact that we have to think out our own economic processes and not to rely on others, i.e., we have to think out in relation to conditions in this country. An economic approach in another country may be completely good, suited to that but conditions being different here, some other variation of that approach will become essential. Anyhow, we developed a strong feeling in favour of a planned approach and in the course of some years, one might say that India, even the average person in India, became plan-conscious. Almost everyone was talking about the First Five Year Plan or the Second Five Year Plan.

Now all this does not necessarily mean that we were going at a great pace forward, but certainly a kind of psychological background was created in favour of planning, which was very helpful, because in these matters, while Governments can do a great deal and should do much, when you move to the wide social and economic spheres, it is, in the final analysis the masses of the people who count, who are going to cooperate or not cooperate, who are going to work hard or be lazy about it. That makes a tremendous difference. Therefore, that psychological background was essential for building up. We did that in a very large measure. That has helped us and we are all the time talking here about this, about what we call public cooperation, which means really that the various elements in the social set up are all trying to help in the realization of the Plan that you make. Now, we have had successes, sometimes quite remarkable successes in this and we have had also lack of success and failures

too. We did not achieve what we wanted to. Our First Plan was really an initial effort without much information or data or statistics available. The Second Plan had a better foundation of experience and facts. And now we are on the verge, not exactly on the verge, but gradually approaching the time when our Third Plan will be finalized. And again we have further experience and data and statistics and all that.

May I say that you will often find a great deal of criticism amongst us, of ourselves about what we have not done and that we should have done and perhaps wrongly done. We have always welcomed this criticism because we have felt that one of the worst things is the feeling of complacency. That is bad because when we are undertaking a task of colossal magnitude, it is a colossal task when dealing with hundreds and millions of people and taking them out of the morass of poverty and putting life into them and training them in vast numbers and all that. It is a colossal task and it can only be successfully accomplished by having this atmosphere of progress, of hard work and of cooperation. But nevertheless this kind of criticism has been welcomed and we have ourselves indulged in it very often. I have indulged in criticizing my own Government, criticizing myself as the head of the Government, because we wanted people to be kept up to a certain pitch of work and mental preparation. Sometimes some of our friends overdo the criticism which perhaps has the opposite effect. Anyhow, we have been probing all the time, experimenting, probing, certainly with certain objectives ahead of us, certain ideals ahead of us, a certain picture of the future society that we try to build up, and nevertheless approaching them in a pragmatic way and not according to some fixed dogma.

Our broad approach is to create a society, a welfare state, a society in which there is not any great difference between the various groups and people; a society in which everybody has an equal opportunity for progress, according to his ability and work. Call this what you like. This is a big task when you have to deal with four hundred million people. We have had now eight to ten years of this and it is for you and for others to judge how far we have gone ahead.

Coming to the conclusion, as I suppose we must, any kind of real progress means industrialisation. If you like to put it in a different way, adopting modern techniques. One cannot progress by sticking to methods of production which do not take advantage of modern knowledge. It is obvious. A part of the world has progressed very greatly through modern knowledge, modern science and modern technology. That is so. How to apply them depends on conditions in a particular country. For instance, we want the latest techniques, but we hesitate sometimes to apply that technique en masse where it might create vast unemployment. The human factor comes in and one has to balance these things. I have no doubt that as techniques advance and they are adopted here and

gradually, and even fairly rapidly perhaps, the unemployment will be absorbed. But one cannot take risk of immediate social upsets. So all these factors have to be considered.

So we come to industrialisation. In an agricultural country like India, it is obvious that agriculture itself has to play a vital and basic part to support that industrial development, to support the population. If the country cannot produce enough food to eat, it will have enormous difficulty in making progress in the industrial field. So we come back to two things and both allied so far as possible in the existing conditions—to the improvement of techniques and application of modern methods and what counts most, the training of vast numbers of people to accept those techniques, and methods, the human factor which is somewhat uncertain come in. Well, we are struggling along all these lines.

If we are to industrialise, how are we to do so? There are various approaches. Historically, countries approach this question in different ways, but we have to do it or we try to do it as rapidly as we can, because we cannot afford to lengthen out this process. Otherwise, all kinds of social problems tend to overwhelm us, even the growth of population tends to overwhelm us, unless we keep pace in our production and really go much further ahead. So what is the method of industrialisation? There is no single method. We have to approach all along the line. For our part, while we are developing as fast as we can, big industries, basic industries, heavy industries, we are equally anxious to develop the middle industries in a very big way. But in addition to all this, we even talk and act up to, the development of village industries. People who come from abroad are often astonished that in a modern age we talk about village industry. That, may I point out, is not, in our minds, any opposition to modern techniques at all. We are all wedded to the use of modern scientific methods. As I said, we have to take the vast human problem and all that. It does not matter how fast our big industries develop in India. We may develop at the rate of absorbing 100 million new persons or whatever it is, but we have to deal with a population of 400 million and therefore vast numbers are left to be dealt with somewhat differently and therefore even village industries come into our Plan which can be adopted easily by vast numbers of people. I am merely venturing to explain our broad approach to these problems but, in the main, we do believe that it is the development of modern techniques and modern industry in India applied even to the agricultural field and certainly to the industrial field, that will raise production and help us to make progress and build up really an industrialised economy.

Now we, a relatively underdeveloped country, want to develop industry. It seems to me obvious if you want to do it quickly, we have to pay special attention to basic or heavy industries. If we can have large number of other industries,

we welcome them and they are growing in India. But unless we have those basic and heavy industries, we are dependent. If we want to have more steel in India, as we do, and every developing country want more and more power, more and more steel, more and more so many things, we must produce our own steel. It is obvious. What is more, we must produce the plant that makes steel—you come back to basic things—the plant that makes steel, we must produce the machinery that produces the steel making plant. Then only we lay the foundation of this. So this applies to a number of basic things.

Therefore, the real attack on these things starts from the foundation up, while, at the same time, you are of course attacking it all along the line for village industry, middle industry and all that. That is essential. Now I want to make a confession to you. We have got now three, rather four new steel plants to be built. We started them about three or four years ago and they are nearing completion. Now, all of us have recognized that it would have been very profitable for us, if we had started at least one steel plant earlier. In our First Five Year Plan, we thought of it, of course; but it was our first effort. We did not. But the delay in starting the first steel plant has hit us badly. We had to import a lot of steel at a great cost of foreign exchange and everything has been delayed because of that. So that the delay in laying the foundation of the basic industries involves delay all along the line. It is true when you; make up basic industries, it means a tremendous burden, but the burden has to be shouldered. There is no help for it and it becomes a heavier burden later. That is the difficulty. Therefore, we are laying stress on that.

When we come to big undertakings, we come very much to the field of public enterprises. We have in our Industrial Policy laid down a broad approach of what is called a mixed economy—public enterprises, private enterprises and we have indicated, put them in three categories—first category, main public enterprises reserved for the State, the second, those which are broadly private enterprises or, if you like, those which may be public or which may be private, and third, which are, in the main, private enterprise. Of course, these are not the rigid, hard and fast lines, but broadly.

In planning, it is obvious that the economic development has to fit in with the plan, otherwise there is no plan. What is the good of planning if that plan does not affect the course of your development? It becomes essential, in our thinking that the strategic points of planning or the strategic points of economic developments should be controlled by the State of planning apparatus. Otherwise, many good things may be done, but in an unplanned way, which upsets the plan. Many good things may be done which are good themselves but which are less good than something else that ought to be done. Who has to decide that? I do not suppose, I do not mean that any Planning Commission or

any authority of Government is perfectly wise and whatever it does, it is bound to be right. Not at all. They are just ordinary folk like anybody else, but their approach or their attempted approach takes the whole picture of the country and then decisions are made. Therefore, they tend to be more right than if only small part of the picture is seen and decisions made at that.

Therefore, it becomes quite essential that if you plan, as you must, and more specially in underdeveloped economies so that the limited resources that you have are used to the best advantage and not used for other purposes which do not help in the future—if you plan, you have to control the strategic points of your economy. Among the strategic points are the basic industries and therefore broadly speaking, we want to control the basic industries. That will be our broad approach in the conditions existing in India. I do not presume to say that an identical approach should be made elsewhere. Of course, conditions differ and people's thinking differs. If you have to control the strategic points, you come back to establishment of public enterprises in regard to those basic things whatever they may be; at the same time, of course, encouraging private enterprise in a vast field. But I do think it is essential. Again I am talking of India, no other country, it being essential that if we want to increase our production, increase our wealth, we must explore every avenue for doing so and not follow any rigid line, shutting off some avenues. Therefore, we have to encourage and expand Public Enterprises and encourage private enterprises also in the vast domain that is left to it.

Now, all public enterprises play a very important part and a growing part in India and they will go on growing. Then this question that you are going to consider becomes important, the question of management of public enterprises. Who is to manage them? Well, obviously, competent, trained persons.

Therefore, it is and normally it is not easy to find competent, trained persons for these rather very specialised, high class jobs. You can have them from the civil services. We have a good civil service. All your civil services may be good. Undoubtedly one can have them, one does have them from the civil services, one can have them from private industry. These are the two main sources of supply. There may be others too. Now, civil services are good, but again the normal civil service approach and the normal administrative service approach, is not quite the same as might be called the approach required for a big industry. I mean to say the methods of work in Governmental and civil services are naturally somewhat different. I do not mean the people cannot get out of it. They do. We have some brilliant people working in our Public Enterprises who come from the civil services. I am not talking of individuals but of certain training that they get. Government functions in a particular way, in a rather static way usually—conventions, rules, regulations, sanctions. They

are so much that the bright person gets frustrated. He cannot get going because the Governmental rules are coming in the way.

Now, we can have bright persons from private industry and we do. Again the question arises, whether the public enterprise approach of mind is the same as the private enterprise approach of mind. Of course, individuals can have either; often get over the difficulty by accepting fully the other. But there is a certain difference in that approach, just as there might be, let us say, in the case of national civil services and international services. You try to build up an international civil service at the United Nations in the World Health Service or F.A.O. They are nationals, of course, but they are being trained to think internationally. So in a public enterprise, one has to have background of thinking and training of public enterprises, not of private enterprises. That is the difference in that approach though there is no rigid line. So we have to face these problems. I have no doubt all countries have to face them and that more and more Public Enterprises will grow. Therefore, it is of great importance, this training of public administration.

Having said all this, which is more a preamble to what you are going to do, I leave you to your task and wish you success.

88. To Rajendra Prasad: Defence Industries⁷⁸

December 5, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of December 5th.⁷⁹ All the problems you have mentioned are obviously of high importance and deserving of urgent consideration. In fact, we have been doing this for the last two or three weeks.

I shall not trouble you with any long letter now, but I hope to discuss some of these matters with you when we meet next.

The short-term necessities are, of course, of vital importance. But obviously, it is the long-term ones which will count. Both the short-term and the long-term will place great burdens on our country. So far as the long-term needs are concerned, they revolve largely round huge plants being set up for heavy industry. Defence today can only be based on the foundation of heavy industry. This seems that our next plan has to lay sufficient stress on heavy industry and every delay in this will mean a continuing weakness in our defence.

78. Letter.

79. See Appendix 3.

Perhaps equally important is the question of revising our procedures and administrative apparatus so that work can be done expeditiously.

There are some basic factors which necessarily have to be kept in mind. We can do a good deal, but there are certain limits beyond which a non-industrialised nation cannot go till it is industrialized and has greater resources at its disposal.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

89. In the Lok Sabha: Retrenchments at Indian Rare Earths⁸⁰

Question:⁸¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government has received any representations regarding the retrenchment in the Indian Rare Earths, Alwaye?
- (b) If so, the nature of representations received; and
- (c) The action Government has taken on them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). Yes. The Indian Rare Earths Workers Union and the Indian Rare Earths Employees Association raised an industrial dispute regarding retrenchment in the Alwaye Plant of the Company before the Conciliation Officer (Central). The main points of complaint made by the Workers Union and the Employees Association were as follows:

- (i) The principle of 'last come, first go' was not followed.
- (ii) Notice under Section 9A of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 was not given.
- (iii) Reduction in various categories was not in relation to the work load and essentially, and was quite arbitrary and governed by extraneous considerations.

Protest against retrenchment was also received by Government from the following Associations:

- (i) Travancore-Cochin Chemicals, Employees Association
- (ii) FACT Employees Association, Eloor.

80. 7 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVI, cols 3672-3673.

81. By Congress MP Vidya Sharan Shukla and Communist MPs T.C. N. Menon and P.T. Punnoose.

(c) The conciliation proceedings held by the Conciliation Officer (Central), Cochin, ended in failure. The allegations regarding victimization and the method of selection of personnel for retrenchment were recently enquired into on the spot by a senior officer of the Government deputed for the purpose and these were found baseless. Every effort is being made to find suitable jobs for the retrenched personnel. The Director General of Resettlement and Employment has been asked to render every assistance in this direction. Messrs. Hindustan Insecticide (Private) Limited, New Delhi, who have a plant at Alwaye have also been requested to consider these employees for appointment in their plant. Messrs. Indian Rare Earths Limited have taken up the question of appointment of these workers in the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay.

90. For the Bhilai Steel Project⁸²

I am happy to learn that the Bhilai Steel Plant is taking another major step soon in production, when the Billet Mill will be inaugurated.

The first Blast Furnace at Bhilai went into operation on the 4th of February 1959 and attained full production at the rate of one thousand tons a day within a short time. On October 12, the first of the six Open Hearth Steel Melting Furnaces went into operation and several more units are being commissioned this month. The Blooming Mill started working on the 12th November and now, within a few days, the Billet Mill will be converting the blooms and slabs into billets, and thus will shortly be turning out these billets regularly for sale.

This continuous progress of the Bhilai Steel Plant is very encouraging and is a pleasing symbol of the co-operation between Soviet and Indian engineers. Many of these Indian engineers, who have been trained in the Soviet Union, will be engaged in the operation of these various mills. I should like to congratulate all the people in charge of the Bhilai Plant, and more especially the engineers, Soviet and Indian, on the success of this undertaking.

82. Message on inauguration of Billet Mill, 18 December 1959. File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

91. To N.S. Khrushchev: Bhilai⁸³

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have received your message of the 22nd December⁸⁴ about the Bhilai Plant with pleasure and I thank you for it. The day when the Bhilai Plant will start producing rolled steel is indeed a memorable day for us. The success of this great undertaking is not only a landmark in India's industrial progress, but is also a symbol of the cooperation of Soviet and Indian specialists which we welcome so much. We look forward with confidence to further Soviet-Indian economic and technical cooperation in the great task we have undertaken of building up a new India.

Thanking you again and with warm regards and good wishes for the New Year.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

92. To Krishna Narain: Small Car Manufacture⁸⁵

December 29, 1959

Dear Krishna Narainji,

I have your letter of December 28. The question of manufacture of small cars in India is being considered thoroughly by our Commerce & Industry Ministry.⁸⁶ It would serve little purpose if I interfered with this consideration by making recommendations, which obviously I am not in a position to do, nor indeed am I much of a judge of cars.

83. Telegram to the Prime Minister of Soviet Union, 26 December 1959. File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS.

84. See Appendix 15.

85. Letter. Copied to Lal Bahadur Shastri enclosing Krishna Narain's letter of 28 December 1959.

86. Based on recommendations of the interim report submitted by K.L. Jha, four models of small cars—Morris Minor, Fiat 600, DKW and Renault—were sent to Ahmednagar for trial. The final report was due in January. See *The Tribune*, 25 November 1959. Also see SWJN/SS/53/p. 452.

I might mention that I think I saw this car when it was brought to my house.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Labour

93. To G.L. Nanda: Workers' Welfare⁸⁷

Maithon
December 6, 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,

I came here today for the opening ceremony of the Panchet Hill Dam. This evening, a deputation from the Employees' Association came to see me and I had a fairly long talk with them.⁸⁸ They gave me a memorandum, a copy of which I enclose.⁸⁹ This memorandum deals with various matters and I have given a copy to the Chairman of the DVC. What interests me most is the question of retrenchment of the skilled and semi-skilled personnel here on the conclusion of this major work.

I know that you have interested yourself very much about this question of retrenchment in our river valley and other projects and have, in fact, done a good deal to find employment for these people. Nevertheless, I am sending this to you to draw your attention to a situation that is arising here. I am told that in any event there will practically be no further retrenchment for another three months or so as there is enough work to be done.

It is obviously a pity, both from the human and national points of view, to waste trained material. There is a possibility of the DVC undertaking another dam. If so, then of course all these people will be absorbed. In the event of this not being done, I hope that thought will be given to this matter.

There is one aspect of these major schemes which has often struck me. I think that it should be an integral part of such schemes to provide adequate

87. Letter.

88. Nehru shared his observations in separate letters, with a copy of the memorandum to S. Lall, Chairman, DVC, and V.T. Krishnamachari. Also see items 95 and 96.

89. See Appendix 4.

teaching for the children of the employees. We spend crores of rupees over a scheme. Surely we ought to be able to afford some thousands for teaching. The teaching should be in primary schools and some secondary schools. There might also be some technical training for which there are obvious facilities, in such places. The primary schools that are started in such areas should be open to other children also. This is an Adivasi area and we should help in developing it in this way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

94. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Dams and Floods⁹⁰

Maithon
December 6, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

I came here today for the Panchet Hill Dam opening ceremony. In the evening, I met a deputation of employees who gave me a memorandum. I enclose a copy of it. I have written to Gulzarilal Nanda on this subject and I enclose a copy of my letter to him.⁹¹

I think that there should be long-term planning about this question of re-employment of skilled and semi-skilled workers so that when once one project ends these people can be employed elsewhere.

When the big floods came in Bengal some months ago, there was a proposal for an enquiry by a high-level committee of engineers about this whole question of flooding and what steps should be taken to meet this danger. Should more dams be constructed or should the drainage system be attended to? I remember your telling me that you were taking immediate steps for the appointment of such a committee.

I do not know what happened after that but I was told here that the committee had not yet been appointed. This surprised me because this was considered an urgent matter. Someone said that the State Governments had been asked to suggest some names for this committee and this had delayed matters. I do not think it is necessary to delay this matter on this account. The Central Government

90. Letter to the Minister of Irrigation and Power.

91. See item 93.

can appoint this committee and if and when the State Governments want to add anyone, they can do so.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

95. To B.C. Roy: Rostow⁹²

Maithon
December 6, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I spoke to you about some articles in "The Economist". You will find them "The Economist" of August 15th and August 22nd, 1959. These articles give a very full summary of some lectures given by Professor Rostow of Cambridge University.⁹³

I am sending you for your information a copy of a memorandum presented to me by the employees of the DVC.⁹⁴ Apart from the various other matters referred to in this, I am most interested in the question of retrenchment and re-employment of trained and semi-trained personnel. Both from the human and the national points of view it is a waste of trained material. Much has been done in this respect in the past by our Labour Minister. Nevertheless, I am writing to him as well as to the Planning Commission on this subject.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

92. Letter.

93. Summarised in his "Five Stages of Growth—A Summary" in W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge University Press: London, 1960), pp. 4-16.

94. See Appendix 4.

(f) Education

96. To K.C. Reddy: Land for Girls' College⁹⁵

December 1, 1959

My dear Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th November about the allotment of land to the Banarsi Das Chandiwalla Sewa Samarak Trust for a Girls' College. I think that what you have said to Brij Krishenji is perfectly right, and I do not understand why he should raise any further objections. I should very much like the proposed green belt not to be touched as far as possible. I should imagine that ten and a half acres is also adequate.

As for the price to be charged, the normal price for educational institutions appears to be right.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

97. To S.R. Das: Visva-Bharati Treasurer⁹⁶

December 7, 1959

My dear Shri Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd December, which has just reached me.

I entirely agree with you that it would be better for us to accept Shri K.C. Chaudhuri's resignation from the office of the Treasurer. I hope he will act up to the suggestion you have made in your letter to him of December 1st.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

95. Letter to the Minister for Works, Housing and Supply.

96. Letter to the Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University.

[Shrimali Runs for Cover]



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 27 NOVEMBER 1959

98. To Shri Ranjan: Turmoil at Allahabad University⁹⁷

December 10, 1959

My dear Shri Ranjan,

I have been much distressed by recent happenings in Allahabad University.⁹⁸ I do not quite know how far these happenings affect the holding of the Mathematical Conference which I had promised to attend. Will it be at all inconvenient or embarrassing for you if I go there?

I have, as usual, drawn up a programme to visit the rural areas of Allahabad District as well as having a public meeting in Allahabad. That programme will stand.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

99. To Sampurnanand: Allahabad Visit⁹⁹

December 10, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have just received your letter of December 8¹⁰⁰ in which you suggest that I should not go to Allahabad in existing circumstances. My visit to Allahabad is only partly and rather incidentally due to the Mathematical Conference. I am going there both because it is my home town and my constituency. I have drawn up a programme to visit the constituency, and of course a public meeting in Allahabad is included in this. I hardly think it will be proper for me to cancel this entire programme because the students have misbehaved.

Of course, my going to the Mathematical Conference will depend on the advice the Vice-Chancellor gives me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

97. Letter to the Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University. File No. 8/123/59-PMP. Also available in JN Collection.

98. See Appendix 11.

99. Letter. File No. 8/123/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

100. Sampurnanand advised Nehru against visiting Allahabad to address the Mathematical Conference, adding that K. L. Shrimali was of the same opinion.

100. In the Lok Sabha: The Indian Statistical Institute¹⁰¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, my answer to the question which was put by some hon. Members as to why I am piloting this Bill and not the Home Minister is that this is under the Cabinet Secretariat and directly dealt with by me.

Bimal Ghose:¹⁰² The 1956 Bill was brought in by the Finance Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Any of my colleagues may bring in a Bill if I ask him to bring it up.

A.C. Guha:¹⁰³ Sir, may I correct Shri Ghose. That Bill was not on behalf of the Finance Ministry. One of the Ministers in the Finance Ministry was acting on behalf of the Cabinet Secretariat and was in charge of that subject... (Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker:¹⁰⁴ Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is a matter entirely for the Ministers and any Minister can bring it in. But this is very much under the Cabinet Secretariat and the Cabinet Secretariat functions under the Prime Minister. I may ask the Finance Minister or any other Minister to deal with it but the proper course would have been, then as it is now, for me to bring it forward and if by chance I could not have found it convenient to do so or easy to do so, I would have requested others.

Quite a number of points, I gather, have been raised. Many of them seem to be rather hardly relevant, if I may say so, with all respect. They deal with the position of the staff there, how the staff is recruited and other troubles. They hardly come into this Bill. If it had been suggested that it should become 100 per cent Government organisation, perhaps...even then I am not sure whether...it is proper for this House to go into these details. But here is an autonomous organi-sation which has been dealing with, more or less, success with the staff problem. Grievances there are; they are everywhere. But I gather

101. Motion on the ISI Bill, 14 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 4927-4937.

102. PSP.

103. Congress.

104. Hukum Singh.

that on the whole work has been done very satisfactorily there. Stress is laid on this being a one man's show. I do not quite understand that except that naturally, the Director not only by virtue of his position as a Director but otherwise as an eminent scientist stands rather above many of his expert colleagues... eminent colleagues there. So far as the administration, etc. are concerned, they are naturally left to the executive council which consists of very eminent people like Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Shri Dhiren Maitra and others who look after that. In fact, the Director is not always even present at these meetings. But perhaps so far as the main scientific direction is concerned, naturally it is largely due to his own enthusiasm in the subject.

Prof. Ranga¹⁰⁵ said something about the statisticians and economists and others quarrelling. Well, perhaps they differ in their view sometimes even as, I believe, known politicians differ sometimes in their views ... (Interruptions.)

Ranga: Politicians are also scientists like yourself.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing surprising about that except that the politicians are not usually scientists and therefore they differ much more. If they had a little scientific background they will differ a little less perhaps. There are eminent statisticians working in our Government departments, universities and elsewhere in the country. There is no question of our considering them not eminent. They are doing good work. They should do good work. The main thing was this. Here was an institution which has grown up. If it had not grown up during the course of these years, we will have to think how to have such an institute because statistics had grown into a very vital part of the nation's activities, planning, etc. It is hardly possible to plan without it. Fortunately, we have this institution which has grown up. It has been doing work for the Government on a contractual basis for these many years. Before independence too, it did that work... sample surveys, etc. It is being paid for that work... repeat... on a contractual basis. Suppose this Bill was not passed, either the Government should stop giving that work or give it to this body. Nobody else can do that on that scale. Individual things can be done; individual projects are there. Steps may be taken up and are rightly taken up by our Government departments and statistical departments in various Ministries. This is important and I do not wish to say anything against it. But if we take up any Ministry or

any individual and ask him to audit his own accounts, in all honesty, there is a danger of his having a certain bias in his own favour. It happens even with high-souled people. Even high-souled people, such as the Ministers are subject to bias, so that, when audit is concerned, one likes an outside auditor to do it. In the same way where statistics are concerned, there is a weakness. Some hon. Member has pointed out how statistics differ and said that you could produce any statistics you liked. It may be so. It is desirable for an outside, non-governmental organisation to undertake this work. That is much less likely to suffer from any conscious or subconscious bias. It is desirable that we have this check on the purely governmental statistics. In fact one of the reasons why there has been an unfortunate delay in the publication of these reports has been the fact that one set of statistics taken by some governmental authority did not quite fit in with the other and so they were being compared and examined. In future, I think this should be less because it is important that whatever the various statistical agencies might do, they should coordinate their activities as far as possible. In statistics also it is found desirable to take two different approaches to get the same type of statistics and then compare the results. If the results are very near, one gets the assurance of their correctness more than if one approach had been there. Take even the sample surveys. If we take two sample surveys and the samples are different—not in the same place but in the same wide area—and you get the same results, the results of the sample survey are more definite and more reliable. They may differ one per cent or half a per cent. Therefore, there is necessity for having an Institute of this kind; there is no other institute in statistics.

Prof. Ranga asked me: “why don’t you have an institute, perhaps for agriculture or other thing?” I cannot answer that question here. If a necessity arises and if there is something to take that place well and good. As it is, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research is a very fine body doing good work. It is almost entirely a governmental body. Well and good. Whether it can develop into a certain institute...it may be a possibility in future. However, we are dealing now with statistics and not other institutes or other departments of human knowledge. It is necessary to have this. If it had not been there, we would have had to find it out somehow and built it up.

It is desirable, I submit, for such an institute not to be a purely governmental institute because then that inevitable bias may come in examining governmental statistics or other statistics. At the same time, one cannot give an absolutely free hand to do what it likes, in the manner it likes and dispose of considerable funds that it gets. It is, I admit, a slightly novel approach and, as I submitted in my earlier speech, if this succeeds we can adopt it for other purposes too. This approach has a great deal of decentralisation, autonomy and independent

approach, and yet governmental, not control but governmental checks in a variety of ways ultimately going so far as to issue directions to have audit of performance, enquiries about performance, are there. It is the most important thing, I think, in any kind of audit, because, after all, when you spend money, the main thing is to see if it has been properly utilised and it has produced the results aimed at. It is not after all, very satisfactory if the money has been spent strictly as laid down in the rules and yet not produced adequate results. That is the most important audit, not that I leave out the other audit.

Therefore, this has been devised after very considerable discussion. I can assure Shri Ranga... I may be at fault; of course, that is a different matter... that the amount of thought that has been given to this matter is something prodigious. There were discussions with the various ministries concerned, notably, of course, the Finance Ministry, and so many other people inside and outside. Enough thought has been given to it. If we still find some faults, they are our human fallings which I cannot get over.

A number of relatively minor points have been raised. But I submit this is the main thing that has to be remembered, this approach of an autonomous organisation with governmental checks, directions etc., but not control in its normal working, internal working. It is not correct to say that it is run by the single individual. No individual can run a big organisation like this. He can give directions; he can suggest ways of working etc.

Professor Mahalanobis, undoubtedly, has been the heart and soul of this institution. He started it. It has been our good fortune that we have such an eminent man doing such important work. It has found recognition not in India only but almost over the entire world. That, among other things, can be seen from the fact that he is continually being badgered by invitations from Governments of Asia, Europe, America and other places. In fact, a certain amount of his time has been spent abroad. I might say one thing here. A hon. Member asked: "Why does he take his wife with him always?" It is rather a minor matter, but usually when he is invited abroad it is the other party that pays for him and his wife...both. Sometimes there is a fund there, I am told, which is the fund of the undrawn salary of Professor Mahalanobis which he had not drawn for years, for a considerable time, and out of that fund the money comes for his travelling expenses and not out of these grants etc. He does take others too with him, young people, to help him and to be trained. In fact, some of his best people have all had training, have all gone abroad with him. When he is invited to deliver certain lectures for a few days he cannot take others with him then.

Something was said, some Constitutional question was raised—I am sorry I have been unable to follow it—about the Constituent Assembly having said

something or the other. To say that this organisation, this institute has not got a structure is not correct. Obviously, it has got a structure. You may not agree with the structure, you may want to improve it, that is a different matter; but it has got a structure.

One of the purposes, of giving recognition to this organisation in the manner suggested is to give it more of permanency. What I mean is, when people talk about staff being recruited there, it is a little difficult for them to recruit indefinitely for ten or fifteen years. They are usually taken in on contractual basis for a certain period, because nobody knows, they do not know, how much work they may have during the next year or two years later. As I said, the work itself is contractual for Rs. 50 lakhs. If the Government does not give that work the people will have to go, large numbers of people who work there will have simply to go. That is the difficulty. Therefore, if it will get greater permanency it will be good for the staff and others.

Bimal Ghose:¹⁰⁶ Does that mean permanency for the staff who are there now?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not saying that. Scientists normally might well be taken on a contractual basis for a period of years, five years or something like that. I think that will be good for them and good for the institution—of course, in universities and others there might be other ways of dealing with them.

Now, I should like to make one thing quite clear. Someone suggested about recruitment. He asked: "Why should not these people go through the U.P.S.C. and those other processes? I think that would be not at all desirable.

Ranga: What he suggested was some internal statutory arrangement for recruitment and promotion?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, the people are recruited, by some internal arrangement; they do not drop from the sky. As a matter of fact, speaking from some personal experience about recruitment of statisticians etc., I found that great care was taken.

The Public Service Commission is an admirable body, an essential body for government service. But a difficulty comes in. Necessarily, they are conditioned by the normal government service outlook, the kind of work that a government servant has to do in our administrative apparatus. That outlook

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does not quite fit in with the scientific outlook, the work for scientific purposes. It does not. And, with all respect to the Public Service Commission, I have sometimes found that a brilliant scientist who had a very bad presence of mind and who stumbled when he was asked questions is passed over. I do not blame them because they judge from a man's presence and all that. There are also degrees which they consider. If a man is nervous he gets a bad mark. Scientists are very often nervous about these things. On the other hand, I have seen a person with more brass about him gets through easily enough although he does not have as much intelligence as others. That is not anybody's fault, if I were in their place I will do the same thing. Therefore, a slight improvement has been made even in the Public Service Commission. Now when they choose such people, a scientist or a specialist is attached who has some influence. But I do not think for this type of appointment of specialists and experts it should have a body of specialists and experts as a rule. The main thing, as I said, is the test of performance, not a test of degrees; of course, degrees count originally, but then it is how best a man develops. It is not by flux of time that he develops from lower ranks to upper ranks, but by what he shows, the ability he shows. Take the army. After all, except for the very lower ranks it becomes a question of not merely time, service, but also merit.

There was a reference to a rent of Rs. 8 lakhs or Rs. 9 lakhs paid to various firms....American and British...for tabulating equipments which are not made in India. I have just enquired and I am told that these particular machines are not available in India. Till they are available—it would be a different matter—they have got to get them from there on rent. In fact, these complicated sets cannot even be purchased. That is the normal practice, I am told, in other countries too. As a matter of fact, the Indian Statistical Institute has already devised some new statistical machines which they are using and which they are selling too—of a simpler type—and they hope to make other types also.

Regarding training, there are regular courses of training. Why should hundreds of foreigners come here to be trained? Because they find the training is worthwhile. About 240 or thereabouts of foreigners have gone through the training, apart from 8,000 Indians. It is a high class training institute, and so far as the international training centre is concerned, it is associated to some extent with UNESCO which also provides the funds.

Some hon. Members have said that the National Sample Survey has not always done good. Perhaps not; I do not know. But broadly speaking, it is rather good and has naturally improved. Where you have to deal with the human factor, there is always the liability of error. As a matter of fact, it has been found, I believe, that sample surveys are likely to be more correct than what you might call a full census. Why? Normally, a full census is better. You get

everything, but the full census is carried on by untrained people. You cannot have hundreds and thousands of trained people to do it, while the sample survey is carried out by trained people. The result is that, because of their training, they can get more accurate results even though they are for samples, only, and the importance of sample survey has grown tremendously in some places. I think in America they have census by sample surveys, apart from the decennial census. It is found remarkably accurate.

I do not know if I have left out any matter, but, Sir, I would beg this House to look at this Bill in this wider aspect. We are doing something which is essential, that is, developing a big Institute. If the other institutes develop, well and good, it is difficult enough to have one major Institute of this kind. We are giving it a certain status.

So far as money is concerned, whether we give this status or not, we have been giving them money. Why? Not to the Institute as such but because we want certain definite precise work done. We have to do it anyhow, if we want the work to be done. There is nobody else in India who can do that work with that skill. We prefer to give that status because that will help them to do the work better and give them a certain forward-looking sense and they can prepare for the future, and we want trained statisticians.

Regarding getting degrees, etc., it is said that the University Grants Commission said something against it. They did not. What they said was that this should not be called a university which is a different thing. They did not come in the way of their giving diplomas or degrees.

Mahanty: From the review of Professor Mahalanobis himself, it is seen that he was not inclined to the idea of conferring degrees or diplomas. It is in the report.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Maybe he has changed his opinion.

Mahanty: In the report itself.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose he must have. I have discussed this matter. The point was that the conception of a university, in the minds of the University Grants Commission, is something which deals with a variety of subjects, a large variety of subjects, scientific, literary, and so on and so forth. Now, we are dealing with a definite set of specialised subjects. They do not think that that represents a university. But they do not come in the way of their giving degrees and diplomas. It is a different thing.

Mahanty: In the report, it is said—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Prime Minister said that he might have changed his opinion. What is there to do now?

C. K. Bhattacharya:¹⁰⁷ The reference Shri Mahanty makes does not bear the interpretation that he seeks to put on it.

Mahanty: May I quote it?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Even if it does, the Prime Minister said that he might have changed his opinion. What does the hon. Member want? (Interruption)

Jawaharlal Nehru: Many criticisms were made about the inner working of the Institute, but these are things which can be dealt with. They have nothing to do with this Bill. I therefore, submit that the Bill as it is, on merits, should meet with the approval of the House.

Mr Deputy Speaker: The question

“That the Bill to declare the institution known as the Indian Statistical Institute, having at present its registered office in Calcutta to be an institution of national importance and to provide for certain matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration.”

The motion was adopted.

[Omitted: Clause by clause discussion of the Bill]

Mr. Speaker: Now, the hon. Prime Minister.¹⁰⁸

Khadilkar:¹⁰⁹ May I make a submission on a point of order regarding the motion that the hon. Prime Minister is going to move? Certain constitutional propriety which has to be looked to has not been looked to. When the Constituent Assembly of India debated this particular Entry in List I of the Seventh Schedule, the consensus of opinion was.....

107. Congress.

108. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 4867-4883.

109. R.K. Khadilkar, Mazdoor Kisan Party.

Mr. Speaker: Is it with respect to the motion to be moved by the hon. Prime Minister, regarding the Indian Statistical Institute Bill? The hon. Prime Minister may move his motion, and then I shall bear the point of order.

Khadilkar: It would be better if, before he makes his speech, I raise this point of order, because he can take into consideration my submission. It is also a question of the privilege of the House.

Mahanty: If it is a point of order, what is there to wait for?

Khadilkar: I shall be very brief; I shall finish in two minutes.

Mr. Speaker: Everything that the hon. Member wants to say cannot be allowed, unless it is a point of order, at this stage. Is it a point of order?

Khadilkar: In my opinion, it is a point of order, and you have got to give your ruling on it.

Mr. Speaker: Let him state the point of order first.

Khadilkar: I shall make a brief submission. I have gone through the debates of the Constituent Assembly, and I find that there was a consensus of opinion among the framers of our Constitution, and again and again, this point was stressed also, that when a national status is conferred on any institution, certain formalities should be gone through. In that sense, in the present Bill, there is no statutory structure mentioned anywhere at all, and yet we are going to confer a national status on the institution. This is a big lacuna, in my opinion, and is against the spirit of the Constitution.

Therefore, my submission is that the Mover of the motion may be pleased to look into this matter and accept a Select Committee to remove this defect in the Bill. I am appealing to you as the custodian of the privileges of this House....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order; I am not going to hear him anymore. If it is a question of reference to a Select Committee, that has to be done by way of an amendment to the motion for consideration. If he wants to introduce any changes in any particular clauses with respect to which he feels that there is any lacuna, he can table an amendment, and that may be considered. There is no point of order in what the hon. Member has raised. A point of order must prevent the further progress of a Bill or the further consideration

of a matter before the House. The hon. Member has not raised any such point of order.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

“That the Bill to declare the institution known as the Indian Statistical Institute having at present its registered office in Calcutta to be an institution of national importance and to provide for certain matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration.”

This institute is well known. Nevertheless, I should like to give just a few facts in regard to it. It was started in the early thirties, and has grown since then very considerably. Till now, it is not the only but the very big institute doing statistical work in Calcutta, and in fact, all over India. There can be no doubt about its importance. In fact, its importance is recognised internationally, all over the world. It is one of the noted statistical institutes in the world, not only in India; in India, of course, there is no other doing that type of work.

I should have thought that there was no need to lay stress on this fact of its intrinsic importance, and its importance as a national institution. It is almost a formality that I am observing now by bringing forward this Bill before the House. So, I was surprised when I found an hon. Member referring just now to something which I could not understand, about some processes having to be gone through. I do not know what those processes are, except that a Bill is placed before this House for its acceptance now.

I do not propose at this stage to take the time of the House in referring to its importance and to the work it has done. Statistical work of this kind is always important, but now, today, with our planning etc. it is of the utmost importance. There can be no planning without statistical work on a big scale. And this statistical work too, in the present context, is not merely compiling of figures. There, all kinds of other aspects come in, especially planning aspects, what is called, I think, biometry and psychometry and various aspects of this where psychological and biological questions also come in. In fact, government today is largely based and would become progressively more and more based on accurate statistical information. Of course, we have had statistical information in the census statistics and so many other things; the censuses are important, and they do take place from time to time, but there are so many other types of statistics which are essential, production, this, that and the other. These statistics, no doubt, are collected separately also by our Ministries to suit their purposes, and that is all right. But there is no other way to collect them in various ways, apart from those special matters, than through this institute in India.

I may point out that a fairly large sum of money is shown in this Bill and in

these papers as having been given to or spent by the statistical institute. Of that, a considerable sum of money, a little over Rs. 50 lakhs is for the National Sample Surveys which are done more or less on a contractual basis. That is, in fact, previously, though, I think, not now, it was a pure contract; the Government of India used to give this piece of work, and whatever was left over from the money, they kept; it is not a profit making organisation; so, that went into their other work. Now, I do not think that is done exactly like that. But the point is that all this National Sample Survey work is done even now on a more or less contractual basis.

This Institute has become a big centre, a developing centre of research, education and training in Statistics. It has organised quality statistical control, national sample survey and studies in connection with problems of economic development. The Institute was a private Institute, to begin with, and is still a private autonomous Institute, which did work for Governments, whether Central or State, and received payment for work done, as I said, more or less on a contractual basis. In addition, it has received in recent years some sums of money for specific types of activity. It has also received some money from UNESCO for having an international training centre in Statistics to which the Government of India has also contributed.

There can be no doubt about its vital importance in the scheme of things, and secondly also in regard to its being one of the recognised institutions of this kind in the world and respected greatly for not only its normal work but for certain original work which it has done and which has benefited and profited the science of Statistics or, rather, the practice of it.

The whole question that arises in this matter is really how best to deal with this institution. Some people think that an Institute of this kind should, more or less, be a government organisation. This Bill is not meant to convert this into a government organisation. After very careful thought, we have come to the conclusion that it should maintain and retain the autonomous character which it has had thus far, subject to various checks etc. which Government or Parliament may have. Now this is a wider question which I should like to place before the House. We have been progressively coming to the conclusion that too much centralisation of our activities is not a good thing. Of course, Central control in some matters is a good thing, but too much centralisation and departmentalisation of our activities is not a good thing. Now, however that may be for our other activities, one thing is quite certain, in my opinion, that science and matters connected with science cannot be or should not be dealt with by the normal governmental routine methods. Art in a sense cannot be dealt with, or should not be dealt with, in that way. There are other subjects too. You cannot have creative impulses dealt with by routine methods. That is why

wherever science has grown very considerably—let us say, in the United States of America or in the Soviet Union, two entirely different structures of government—they give the widest latitude, both of them, to their scientific apparatus to grow. Naturally they have checks to see that money is not wasted. But they give them latitude. These institutions do not have to come for sanctions to people who usually have no ghost of an idea of science or that special thing. What happens in the governmental apparatus, normally, is that it is looked at, very competently looked at, but not looked at from the particular scientific or like point of view.

Now, we want science to grow, and I think it is quite essential that we should accept this broad approach to this question, that scientific work should have certain latitude. Therefore, we have decided that in this particular matter, this should continue to be an autonomous organisation, but Government comes in all over the place to tell them what to do, how to do it, to check them, to inspect...all that kind of thing.

Now, it may be that if this type of approach is a successful approach, one may even consider enlarging it so that it may cover some of our own State owned governmental enterprises, because as our work grows, as State-owned governmental enterprises grow, it becomes very difficult for them to grow if there is constant reference back to governmental agencies. However fast they may work, there is delay, and delay is the most wasteful thing from every point of view that one can have.

So that we are thinking, more or less, in terms of greater autonomy, whether in the administrative sphere or any other. If I may refer to something that is not perhaps quite relevant, in the administrative sphere, this House knows that many State Governments are going in for a great deal of devolution of authority and power to panchayats and the like...which is a very happy sign. That, of course, has no application here. It only represents a certain mental approach of devolution of authority with checks at the right places and not continuous references and the like.

For this reason and many others, we feel that scientific organisations should be treated in this way. In the present Bill, therefore, we have accepted this basis for the Indian Statistical Institute to function as an autonomous organisation. But having said that, we have put in quite a large number of ways in which Government can see that the work is done according to its wishes. Various checks and counter-checks are provided. But we have definitely and deliberately not put in Government Directors etc. which changes the whole nature of it. I believe there are eminent men in it. The present President of this Institute is Shri C. D. Deshmukh who has been there for some years.

If I may draw attention to some of the principal clauses of this Bill, one is

the authority to give degrees and diplomas in Statistics. By some previous Act, it is stated that degrees and diplomas could only be given by Universities. Now this goes slightly outside that scope, but in this particular sphere of Statistics, there can be no doubt at all that is as competent a body as you can have. Some people have suggested, or may suggest, that these should be given with the approval of Government. Now, I happen to be a humble member of Government, but this proposal that some Secretary or Deputy Secretary should decide who should get the degree or diploma seems to be quite remarkable in a specialised subject.

Therefore, we have stated that they should give degrees and diplomas. As a matter of fact, I believe this Institute has in the last six or seven years trained 8000 statisticians of various degrees and kinds. It has trained several hundred foreign people who have come for training here... I think 200 and more. So that it follows naturally that it should be authorised to these degrees and diplomas in these specified subjects with which it deals.

Now, a question has arisen in this connection about the audit of the funds of the Institute. There have been two viewpoints: one was that the Comptroller and Auditor-General should undertake the audit and the other that it should continue to be done by private auditors. This is an interesting question and much can be said for either side, though, personally, I have for some time past held the opinion that it is better for such institutions—not only this but some other institutions too—that the Comptroller and Auditor-General be not charged with the audit of these institutions.

An Hon. Member: Why?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not that I doubt the capacity or ability of the Comptroller and Auditor-General, but I doubt the capacity of the governmental methods of audit suiting such institutions because they are meant for governmental types of work.

Perhaps, hon. Members might remember what Mr. Appleby said about it. One might agree or disagree with Mr. Appleby. Anyhow, in his report he strongly opposed this. He saw everywhere, quite rightly, the spectre of bureaucratic control checking growth. It is partly true and partly may not be true. Anyhow, he specially wrote a section in his report about this because essentially the auditor sees that the amount that has been spent has been spent properly or not. If it has the sanction, well and good. The auditor has nothing more to say and the auditor's function is not to challenge the policies governing it. He has just to see that proper sanctions have been accorded for the money spent.

The type of scientific work is somewhat different, obviously, from other

types of routine office work. It is very difficult to judge of scientific work except by a scientist or a group of scientists. (Interruption) So the problem comes up before us as to how one cannot give full scope for even a scientific organisation just to do what it pleases. About the money one must have checks.

The really important thing in this as in other matters is for an audit. If I may use that word, of performance. What has been achieved or what is being done? All our audits are to see that certain sanctions are there and that money is spent according to certain sanctions. That is necessary, of course for normal governmental work. But what should be even more necessary, even for normal governmental work, is how much has been achieved by the money that has been spent. And I hope that gradually we shall be able to bring in this test of achievement in all our activities. Of course, it is very difficult to see the achievement in government offices.

The O. & M. Division sometimes considers this matter; how many letters have been received in an office; how many have been disposed; five thousand in a week or whatever the period may be. That is a check, perhaps, but not a very adequate check, because there may be formal letters and there may be very difficult letters.

In the Ministry of External Affairs we may send a letter let us say to the Prime Minister of China. That letter may take us weeks to consider how to deal with it, while hundreds and thousands of other letters are passing through, so that the relative importance of these things is not checked by the numerical issue—how many papers have been issued. Maybe, in the licensing department of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry that might hold good. Therefore, it is desirable to introduce this system of audit or check by performance as far as possible.

In fact, that system could really apply to each individual worker, I think. That is, it should be a check of what is the result of his work, not how many hours he sits in an office or factory, but what is the result. After all, the piece-goods system is one method of doing it. That is not so easy to apply it to an office. Anyhow, even in this Statistical Institute an attempt has been made to apply to each individual worker this check of work done and giving encouragement to those who show greater promise and greater work.

Therefore, in this Bill it is proposed that the Institute shall appoint...of course, they shall have regular chartered accountants and auditors..."such auditors as the Central Government may, after consultation with the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India and the Institute, select."

So, the first thing is that although it is done by so-called private auditors, they will, in fact, be selected by the Central Government in consultation with the Comptroller and Auditor-General. Further, "The Central Government may

issue such directions to the auditors in the performance of their duties as it thinks fit.”

Then, there are various other clauses about the previous approval by the Central Government being obtained before the Institute can alter, extend or abridge any of the purposes for which it has been established or amend its memorandum or do various things, sell any property which is acquired from Government funds and so on and so forth.

Further...and this is important...

“The Central Government may constitute as many Committees as and when it considers necessary consisting of such number of persons as it thinks fit to appoint thereto and assign to each such Committee all or any of the following duties, namely:-

(a) the preparation and submission to the Central Government as far as possible before the commencement of each financial year, of statements showing the programmes of work agreed to be undertaken by the Institute during that year for which the Central Government may provide funds, as well as general financial estimates in respect of such work; and

(b) the settlement on broad lines of the programme of such work.”

I would particularly invite the attention of the House to this and this ought to be our future approach to these problems elsewhere too.

“The Central Government may constitute a Committee consisting of such number of persons as it thinks fit to appoint thereto for the purpose of

(a) reviewing the work done by the Institute and the progress made by it;

(b) inspecting its buildings, equipment and other assets;

(c) evaluating the work done by the Institute; and

(d) advising Government generally on any matter which in the opinion of the Central Government is of importance in connection with the work of the Institute”

Now, the House will notice these all-embracing terms, “in regard to any matter”. This Committee can advise Government evaluate the work in every possible way and make recommendations to Government. That is what I call an audit of performance or achievement which is far more important—you see what you are getting out of it—than the otherwise technical audit of the money spent which is really the work of normal auditors. I think that this is a greater check and more useful from the point of view of Government or Parliament than those simple audits. The House will notice that all these various things that I have read, give very considerable power to Government to deal with any situation that might arise.

I may add that after that committee has reported, the committee on

performance, the Central Government will naturally have the right to issue any directions to the Institute which must carry them out. The directions may be broad and may include even the amendment of the memorandum or alteration of priorities of work to be undertaken etc.

Finally, if there is default on the part of the Institute in carrying out the directions of Government, the Central Government may ask it to show cause to the satisfaction of the Central Government for any purpose named and it may even, ultimately, if the cause is not shown to its satisfaction, take direct charge of the whole Institute and the organisation as it exists now will not function then, the Chairman, Members of the Executive Council and all that Government will take direct charge. Naturally, this is the last and most serious step.

Thus, we have tried to combine two major things in this, one flexibility and the other non interference with its work. It can do its work properly and, at the same time, all kinds of subsequent checks will be there to find out whether it has done its work properly, with the ultimate authority to take over completely or for a period. I think it is on the whole a satisfactory compromise between these two different approaches, both of which have certain merit—the approach of autonomy and flexibility and the other approach of the Government seeing that public funds are not wasted and applied in the proper way in carrying out the policies laid down by the Government and ultimately having authority for even taking over this whole Institute for a period. I cannot imagine any more stringent provisions. The stress that may be laid on the audit part only is nowhere as satisfactory as it should be and speaking for myself I feel that it is better for this matter to be done not necessarily in the typical Governmental way which, I do not think, applies to scientific ways of work. In this Bill we have provided for authorised auditors to be appointed but these are chosen at the instance of the Government of India in consultation with the Comptroller and Auditor-General. I submit that the structure of this Bill provides for these various matters which should be adequate to safeguard that the money given to it is spent for the purposes mentioned.

But the main thing is the approach of this House to this Bill and it is that the institution should remain a non-Governmental, autonomous institution. If a decision is arrived at that it must be taken over by the Government and run by the Government, the whole structure of course changes. I find that many people have suggested this kind of thing. I do not think it would be a proper approach because it is a scientific institute, all the time probing into new avenues of thinking and action and all that which are not normally done by the Government offices. Government offices look to precedents and do not probe into the future. Individuals in Government offices may but I am talking as an institution. I do not want our scientific institutions to get tied up in precedents and all that but I

do want proper checks to see that work is done properly and the money is not wasted. I submit that these are provided for fully here.

The Institute has been publishing annual reports...very full reports...for several years. I believe they are all in the Library of Parliament. Apart from them, it publishes a magazine and I think it is quarterly periodical—*Sankya*—dealing with statistical matters. It is a high-class paper and it also gives full account of the activities. Hon. Members who wish to keep in touch with these matters can always see these reports. I believe that the last annual report plus a pamphlet giving the history of this Institution had been circulated to all the hon. Members. I need not go into all those details. I can assure the House that as a matter of regular practice these annual reports, accounts, etc. will be placed on the Table of the House and I do not think it is desirable to put a positive clause in the Bill that this must be placed. They have been placed and they will be placed. I, therefore, submit that this Bill is a desirable Bill, meriting not only consideration of this House but passing by it.

Acharya Kripalani: Will this institution yet remain a private institution?

Mr. Speaker: It is one of national importance.

Acharya Kripalani: Maybe of national importance but it will be a private institution.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a private institution, meaning, non-governmental. It does not belong to anybody. It belongs to a non-profit making organisation, a registered society, which cannot make profit. But it is controlled by its elected members, chairman, etc., whatever it is.

Parvathi Krishnan:¹¹⁰ May I ask a clarification on one small point? The hon. Prime Minister has not made it quite clear. What is the difference between the earlier Bill that was introduced and withdrawn and this particular Bill?

Secondly, with regard to the Institute not being able to sell any property, clause 7 (c) says: "The Institute shall not, except with the previous approval of the Central Government...sell or otherwise dispose of any property acquired by the institute with money specifically provided for such acquisition by the Central Government."

I would like to ask a small clarification here. Sometimes, equipment may be brought out of a sum sanctioned for overall purposes but, maybe, not specifically given for that instrument.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think it is meant to cover that. It is impossible if one has to come back to the Government for every little thing. I do not think it should cover that.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That the Bill to declare the institution known as the Indian Statistical Institute having at present its registered office in Calcutta to be an institution of national importance and to provide for certain matters connected therewith, be taken into consideration.”

There are no amendments for circulation.

Acharya Kripalani: I have no doubt that the collection of statistics is a very important matter for the economy of the nation, especially for a nation that wants to develop its economy through periodical plans. Talking in this House on the Second Plan, I have stated that the Plan was defective because our statistics were neither exhaustive nor were they reliable. Therefore, an institution of this sort is very necessary. I also believe that this institution has been doing useful work. But what is being sought now is that this should be given a national status even though it remains a private institution. In the Deccan there are several education societies registered under the Societies Act and receiving assistance of the Government and yet are not considered fit to be declared national institutions. What marks out the Indian Statistical Institute from other societies is the unusual volume of assistance furnished by the State. After this Bill goes through, Rs. 80 lakhs will be given every year to the Institute.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No Sir, that is not necessarily so. I do not wish to interrupt the hon. Member but I just wish to say that out of the figure given there, Rs. 50 lakhs are contractual. It will be given, if you have a Bill or not, for the work done. If you do not get the work done, it will not be given. It is not a lump sum to be given to them; it is according to the work done.

Acharya Kripalani: Yet, it is proposed that about Rs. 80 lakhs would be given.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That was given last year, it was contractual. If the hon. Member sees how it is given, he will see that over Rs. 50 lakhs were given for contractual purposes. For instance, for national sample survey Rs. 5 lakhs were given. Similar sums for this and for that were given. It is given in that annual report. It is for specific projects.

101. To K.L. Shrimali: Audits of Central Universities¹¹¹

December 16, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

You wrote to me a few days ago (December 10) about the presentation of audit reports of Central Universities in Parliament. I am inclined to agree with the opinion that it would not be perhaps desirable to place these audit reports in Parliament. At the same time I feel that some kind of a report of the Central Universities should be placed there. The report should give an account of the Universities' work as well as revenue, expenditure, etc. The University itself can be asked to prepare such a report.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

102. In the Rajya Sabha: The Indian Statistical Institute¹¹²

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I beg to move:

“That the Bill to declare the institution known as the Indian Statistical Institute having at present its registered office in Calcutta to an institution of national importance and to provide for certain matters connected therewith, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.”

This Bill really tries to acknowledge an existing fact. This Statistical Institute, which was started many years ago, has, in fact, become a vital institution in India performing a basic and essential task. It is well known that planning and indeed many Government activities can hardly function without proper statistics and statistics today mean something much more than the counting of heads. All kinds of social problems come in statistics, and the more

111. Letter to the Minister of Education.

112. 17 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 2919-2925.

the subject becomes complicated, the more they develop complicated machines to deal with the matter. All our sample surveys, which are so important, are done now by this Institute. In fact, there is none other of that size. Our various Government Ministries have, of course, their own statistical departments like Food and Agriculture and others which do very important work. But none of them covers the whole field and none of them can really take into consideration the entire country with its various problems. Obviously, the State Governments also have their statistical departments. Nevertheless, it was found necessary some time ago to have a Statistical Adviser to Government here, partly to advise Government and coordinate these activities. But the way of coordinating these activities, the major way, is through this Indian Statistical Institute. Many years ago, even before independence, this Institute was functioning on behalf of Government on a contractual basis to carry out all kinds of enquiries. Till lately, even up till now, most of the work it has done for Government, like sample survey work, and the rest has been on a contractual basis. The Institute is a private, non-profit making society.

Now, the problem came before us as to how to put this Institute in a more effective relationship with the Government. On the one hand, it was considered undesirable to make it a governmental institution for a variety of reasons which, I think, are relevant not only in this case, but probably in other cases too. But in the matter of statistics I feel that one should have as independent an approach as possible. I do not mean to say that a Government institute does not have an independent approach. But nevertheless there would be a certain tendency, an unconscious bias, to show, let us say, that a particular Government Ministry is doing well. Their statistical department, without consciously trying to do that, could do it. Just like a kind of audit, it has to be independent and it has to get the objective facts. Therefore, it seemed desirable to us that this Institute should not be converted into a governmental institute. On the other hand, Government was giving large sums of money to it, whether on a contractual basis or as grants and it was necessary that there should be checks in regard to its work and its spending. Again, so far as spending is concerned, most people, I believe probably in this House also, are feeling that as against the necessity of having proper checks on public funds which are quite essential, we should have a certain flexibility, so that these checks do not come in the way of work being done. One of our major problems in India, not about statistics only but about the whole system of Government is that excellent as it is, there are innumerable delays in it. I am talking more about the procedures—administrative and others. To some extent perhaps it may be even said about certain Parliamentary procedures, but I am not referring to that. I am referring to administrative procedures and delays. Now, those procedures are essentially meant for having

proper checks which are very desirable, but if the check prevents the thing being done or delays it so much that it is harmful, then obviously some other method has to be devised and that is a major problem which we have to face. The question often arises. We want to do things quickly in India, Five Year Plans and all that. Can you do them through your parliamentary system of Government? Will you be driven to some other system? That question sometimes is discussed in the newspapers. Now, I think that the parliamentary system of government itself is a very good system. Of course, I believe in it. It is not so much that but the administrative aspects that delay, and there is no reason why we should not evolve administrative aspects which have proper parliamentary control, checks, etc., and yet do not delay. However, that is a larger question.

Coming to this, we had to find a way between these two, that is, a certain flexibility, a good deal of autonomy and at the same time the ability to check abuses, and ultimately even to take over the whole thing. Now, hon. Members who have no doubt read this Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha, will observe that we have tried to steer in between these two positions. It remains as it is, a private, non-profit making organisation. But Government have taken very considerable powers of telling them what to do. They cannot change their rules or regulations without the consent of Government. So far as audit is concerned, we thought about it very carefully and we decided that we should not compel the audit being done by the Auditor-General because, excellent as the Auditor-General's office is, it also functions under certain governmental routines which may not be applicable more especially to a scientific organisation. It is one thing for a normal Government office where you can measure the work done. It is very difficult to deal in the same way with scientific organisations. Therefore, we have suggested in this Bill that the auditors should be naturally Chartered Accountants but recommended or selected by the Government on the advice of or in consultation with the Auditor-General.

Now, the really important innovation in this Bill to which I should like to draw the special attention of the House is the fact that Government normally can appoint any number of committees to find out what is being done, but the real thing is that they can appoint a committee to judge of performance, not only performance but achievement. Now, take audit, financial audit. It means that the auditor has to find out if money has been spent according to law and according to sanctions received. That is all his business. He cannot go beyond that. Whether the money has produced results or not is no function of the auditor. Surely, if we spend money, we spend it to get something, not merely because it has been sanctioned. What is most important for all activities of Government, therefore, is to find out what has been achieved by the money spent. That is an audit of performance or achievement. Now, in this Bill some effort has been

made to bring that out. Hon. Members will see Clause 8:

“The Central Government may constitute as many Committee as and when it considers necessary consisting of such number of persons as it thinks fit to appoint thereto and assign to each such Committee all or any of the following duties, namely:

- (a) The preparation and submission to the Central Government as far as possible before the commencement of each financial year, of statements showing programmes of work agreed to be undertaken by the Institute during that year for which the Central Government may provide funds, as well as general financial estimates in respect of such work; and
- (b) The settlement on broad lines of the programme of such work”.

What I was particular to point out was Clause 9:

“The Central Government may constitute a Committee consisting of such number of persons as it thinks fit to appoint thereto for the purpose of—

- (a) reviewing the work done by the Institute and the progress made by it;
- (b) inspecting its buildings, equipment and other assets;
- (c) evaluating the work done by the Institute; and
- (d) advising Government generally on any matter which in the opinion of the Central Government is of importance in connection with the work of the Institute.”

This is what I call a real audit of performance which I should like really in so many other activities which Government indulges in. And then, Government has the power to send directives, and if the directives are not carried out, Government has the power to take over the whole Institute. So, the House will observe that we have taken very adequate powers to see how work is done and left the normal working in the hands of the Institute, and it is not necessary for it, to come up for sanctions, to make references on all kinds of petty things which delay. If, as I hope it will, this approach is a successful one, we should like to extend it to industrial enterprises and others also, because we cannot, at any rate I feel we should not, centralize all these activities too much under a Department of Government. There may be State owned enterprises as many major enterprises are, and there may be many more State owned enterprises, but I feel more and more that they should not be directed from a department of government or a department of government should not interfere too much. Even now, as the House knows, Corporations have a certain measure of freedom; maybe, that freedom may be increased and some kind of audit of achievement or performance should be instituted to see how they are doing and to pull them up whenever it is considered necessary.

Now, Clause 3 of this Bill says that because of this and that “it is hereby

declared that the Indian Statistical Institute is an institution of national importance". I submit that it is the recognition of a fact. We have been really treating it as that and, what is more, it has a very high place in the world today amongst statistical institutions. It is really considered one of the principal world organisations in this line. They have actually made some contribution to the advancement of statistical science in the world, and they are now beginning to make their own computing machines—they have made some smaller ones which are used, and probably the bigger ones will be used.

If hon. Members will look at the monies given to them in the past, they will see that a very considerable sum of money, about Rs. 80 lakhs, was given last year. Out of that, over Rs. 50 lakhs, it must be remembered, are contractual, for sample surveys, and they have been given varying sums in the last few years. Of the other sum, it goes as grants or in other ways for their numerous activities. There is an International School where it is teaching people from all over Asia in statistical science. That is partly supported by the UNESCO and partly by the Government of India. And there are so many other things because it is an Institute of research training, and there are, I believe, about 2,000 persons working there at present. When I say 2,000, they are more or less specialists or are learning and trying to become specialists.

Now, in Clause 5 it is said that Government may, when it considers necessary, give this Institute help through grants, loans or otherwise. That is exactly what has been happening thus far. I submit, therefore, Sir, that this Bill is worthy of consideration by the Rajya Sabha and ultimately of being passed as it is.

103. At Delhi University: Inauguration of Gandhi Bhawan¹¹³

सभापति जी¹¹⁴ और मित्रो,

मैं शुरु ही में एक पेंच में पड़ गया हूँ। आते ही मुझसे कहा गया के बहुत सारे हमारे यहाँ और देशों से लोग आए हुए हैं। वो चाहते हैं मैं अंग्रेजी भाषा में बोलूँ। तो अंग्रेजी भाषा में बोलने में मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, लेकिन मुझे कुछ उचित नहीं मालूम होता कि यहाँ दिल्ली शहर में, दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी में बैठकर और गांधी जी के बारे में मैं अंग्रेजी में बोलूँ। (तालियाँ) तो

113. Speech, 17 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

114. C.D. Deshmukh.

कम-से-कम कुछ तो मुझे आपसे हिन्दी में कहना चाहिये, फिर चाहे कुछ अंग्रेजी में भी कह दूँ।
(तालियाँ)

अभी आपने सुना कि गांधी भवन कैसा बनेगा, और बाद में उसकी नाप-तौल आपने सुनी। और मुझे विश्वास है कि जो बनेगा वो सुन्दर होगा, अच्छा होगा। लेकिन जो पेंच एक मन में आता है वो ये कि वो सुन्दर इमारत में होगा क्या? और जो लोग जायेंगे वहाँ, वो उससे कितना और कि ढंग से कुछ फायदा उठाएँगे। हम एक मूर्तिपूजा करने वाले लोग हैं और अक्सर मूर्ति बनाके समझते हैं कि काम हमारा पूरा हो गया, नारा उठाकर समझते हैं कि काम हमारा पूरा हो गया जय-जयकार करके, लेकिन यह नहीं महसूस करते कि मूर्ति अगर कहीं होनी चाहिये तो दिल में होनी चाहिये पत्थर की नहीं, ईंट, पत्थर और लकड़ी की नहीं। (तालियाँ) यह नहीं जानते कि नारे के बजाय कुछ करना होता है आदमी को परिश्रम, जिससे कि कोई जो हमारा लक्ष्य हो वो पूरा हो। तो ये मुझे एक डर लगता है कि हमारे ऊपरी काम होते जाएँ, न दिखावे के काम हम महात्मा गांधी की जय पुकारते जाएँ और उसीके साथ उनकी याद असल में न रहे।

तो यह ख्याल मुझे आए। लेकिन उसीके साथ यह भी जाहिर है कि यह जो विचार 'गांधी भवन' का हुआ है यह बहुत अच्छा है। और, आखिर में जो लोग नये-नये आते हैं यूनिवर्सिटी में, जिनको कुछ तजुर्बा और अभ्यास नहीं हुआ उस ज़माने का जब गांधी जी हमारे साथ थे, तो फिर कोई-न-कोई ज़रिया तो होना चाहिये उनको मालूम करने का कि कौन शख्स ये थे। खाली नाम नहीं लेकिन कुछ ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से समझें कि कौन आदमी था जिसने भारत को हिलाया, भारत के करोड़ों आदमियों को जगाया और दुनिया के सामने भी एक नयी रोशनी रखी। कोई छोटी बात नहीं थी। और आश्चर्य की बात तो यह है कि आजकल कितने कम लोग उनका विचार तक करते हैं, नाम सुना, आदर भी दिल में उनके लिए उनमें है और कभी-कभी हम उनका जयकार भी कर देते हैं लेकिन फिर भी कितने दूर हम हो गये उनसे। आपको नहीं कहता, जो लड़के-लड़कियाँ यहाँ बैठे हैं, अगर आप हो जायें क्योंकि आप लोग उनके असर में नहीं आए। उनके असर के माने उनके शख्सियत असर में। लेकिन और लोग भी जो कि उस ज़माने के हैं जो, वो थे वो भी कितने फिसल गये, कितने भूल गये, कितने और रास्तों पे चलने लगे।

दूसरे तरफ ऐसे भी हैं जो झण्डा लेके खड़े होते हैं कि हम गांधीजी के पेशेकार हैं, अनुयायी हैं और पत्थर की लकीर की तरह से किसी बात को पकड़ लेते हैं जो उनकी राय में गांधी जी ने की थी; और थी भी। और पत्थर की लकीर को पकड़ने में और दुनिया की सब बातें भूल जाते हैं, पत्थर-ही-पत्थर की लकीर रह जाती है। वो भी कुछ मौजू नहीं मालूम होता, क्योंकि एक कोई जानदार चीज़ नहीं, न पत्थर की होती है, न इमारत होती है, न मूर्ति होती है; वो चीज़ होती है लोगों के दिमाग में और दिल में, वो एक तर्ज़ होता है, वो एक हवा होती है, वो एक तूफान होता है। जहाँ पकड़ लिया आपने किसी चीज़ को बनाके, वो छोटी हो जाती है, वो निकम्मी हो जाती है। दुनिया में जो बड़े आदमी हुए वो एक तूफान थे और काबू में तूफान थे,

वो एक महज़ पत्थर की लकीर वाले नहीं थे और गांधीजी ऐसे आदमी थे।

तो कैसे इस चीज़ को पकड़ सकें और समझ सकें, मुश्किल है पूरीतौर से, क्योंकि पूरीतौर से उनको समझना, समझने के मायने हैं कि हम भी ऊँचे, बहुत लम्बे-चौड़े हों, उसी कद के हों तब आप देख सकते हैं, समझ सकते हैं। अब यह तो नामुमकिन बात है कि हम सब वैसे हों। लेकिन कम-से-कम कोई झलक तो आए हमारे दिमाग में, कुछ तो आए, जिससे हम समझें कि कौन शख्स ये था जिसने हिन्दुस्तान में इसे जबर्दस्त उलट-पलट किये; कौन शख्स था जिसने हिन्दुस्तान के दुर्बल, कमजोर गिरे हुए लोगों को खड़ा किया, उठाया, जान दी। कम-से-कम खुदगर्ज़ी से भी हम देखें तो हम भी कुछ जान देना चाहते हैं उस विचार से, उस ख्याल से, क्योंकि आखिर जो चीज़ जान देने वाली चीज़ थी वो एक ख्याल, एक विचार उनका था तर्ज़ रहने का था, सारा इतिहास उनका था। तो हम भी दें, क्योंकि हमें ज़रूरत है जान की इस मुल्क में। वो उनको एक स्कूल, कालेज, यूनिवर्सिटी, जो कुछ कहिये, सारा हिन्दुस्तान थी और चालीस करोड़ आदमी थे; उनके क्लासिस हैं हर तरह के- मर्द, औरत, बच्चे सब थे। और उस स्कूल में उन्होंने बहुत बातें सिखायी लोगों को। सबमें पहली बात तो डरना नहीं, निडर होना, क्योंकि डरपोक इन्सान निकम्मा इन्सान है, कुछ कर नहीं सकता वो। जो डरता है वो डर में अपने दबा रहता है। तो भय-अभय का उन्होंने सबक दिया।

दूसरे, उन्होंने याद दिलाया शहर के रहने वालों को हमारे ऐसे, कि हिन्दुस्तान का असली निशान हिन्दुस्तान का गाँव है। इसके माने नहीं कि शहर कोई बुरी चीज़ है, लेकिन वाक्या ये है कि हिन्दुस्तान हिन्दुस्तान के गाँव है ख़, और हिन्दुस्तान का किसान है उसकी निशानी, न कि वो जो यहाँ बड़ी-बड़ी इमारतों में दिल्ली में रहें। हम सब है हिन्दुस्तानी, माना, लेकिन आखिर हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर किसी के सामने आए तो महल की नहीं आएगी न ताजमहल की, न किसी और महल की। वो एक मिट्टी के मकान, कोठरी की आएगी और एक गरीब किसान की आएगी, वो हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर है। (तालियाँ) तो, मालूम नहीं आपने ताली क्यों बजा दी इस पे। लेकिन ये बातें एक समझने की हैं क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान बदलता नहीं जब तक गाँव नहीं बदलता, जब तक वो किसान नहीं उठता और सब हिन्दुस्तान के छोटे-मोटे हिस्से असली हिन्दुस्तान का जिस्म और दिल वही हैं।

खैर, बहुत बातें उन्होंने बताई, सिखायीं और बहुत बातें उन्होंने बताई जो हमारे समझ में नहीं आई, वो भी बात हम कम-से-कम मेरी समझ में नहीं आई, क्योंकि मुझे हमेशा दिक्कत होती थी उनकी बातें समझने की, मैं आपसे साफ-साफ बतादूँ। और अक्सर बहस भी उनसे हो। लेकिन यह समझना और न समझना एक तरफ; एक बात को फिर भी एक महसूस करना होता है। और जाहिर है मेरे ऊपर, जैसे लाखों-करोड़ों के ऊपर एक ज़बर्दस्त असर उनका पड़ा, हिन्दुस्तान पर। और जैसे के एक साँचे में ढलते हैं लोग, इन्सान और कौमें, वो बात हिन्दुस्तान में हुई। तो अगर ये सब बातें हुई, तो कौन या किसने ये कीं? गौरतलब बात है न ये? एक दिलचस्पी होती है, तुम लोग जो कम उम्र के यहाँ बैठे हो, लड़के और लड़कियाँ, कि कौन था जो हमारे मुल्क में आया और उसने मुल्क को हिलाया और जिन लोगों की कमर झुकी हुई थी

डर के मारे, कमज़ोरी से, मुसीबत से, उनकी कमर सीधी हो गई, सिर ऊँचा हो गया करोड़ों आदमियों का इस मुल्क के, हालाँकि पेट फिर भी बेचारों का खाली रहा। फिर भी एक जान आई एक मुर्दे में। छोटी बात थी ये कोई? ये हुई। तो फिर ये जो हुई जिसने जान दी उसमें, क्या बात उसमें थी, क्या बात उसके पैगाम में, सन्देश में थी, समझने की बात है न ये।

एक अजीब हालत है। तुम्हारे सामने जिन्दगी पड़ी है और ऐसे मौके पर जब दुनिया बदल रही है, ऊँच-नीच दुनिया की हो रही है, क्या-क्या जिम्मेदारियाँ तुम्हारे ऊपर आएँ करने की अपने मुल्क में, मुल्क के बाहर, जो कुछ है। तो ऐसे मौके पर और भी ज़रूरी है कि हम समझें कि ये क्या ताकत थी उस शख्स में या उसके सन्देश में या उसकी ज़बान में जिससे ये बातें हिन्दुस्तान में हुई। कैसे उसने, जैसे गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले ने कहा था उनके निस्वत, जब वो अफ्रीका में काम करते थे, कि उस शख्स में मादा है मिट्टी के पुतलों को जानदार बना देने का। तो हमारे ऐसे मट्टी के पुतलों में उसने जान डाल दी।

तो इसलिये मुनासिब है, उचित है कि कम-से-कम एक जगह हो यूनिवर्सिटी में हर यूनिवर्सिटी में, मैं तो कहूँ जो 'गांधी भवन' आप उसका नाम रखें और जहाँ कम-से-कम मौका हो उन लोगों के लिये जो कि कुछ, जिनके दिल में कुछ खोज है, कुछ जिज्ञासा है, कुछ ढूँढ़ है; कोई तमाशे की जगह नहीं कि आके वो, एक नुमायश, कि गांधीजी की तस्वीरें देख जाएँ आके। लेकिन असल में अगर कोई इनके दिल में कोई खोज है तो उनको मौका तो मिले। और अगर और लोग भी आके, ये उनके दिल में पैदा हो जाए तो खैर, अच्छा है। लेकिन मैं इसको बहुत ज़रूरी समझता हूँ, खासकर उन लोगों के लिए जो यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में आते हैं। क्योंकि आखिर में भविष्य हिन्दुस्तान का उन्हीं के हाथ में होगा अधिकतर, किधर हिन्दुस्तान जाए, क्या करे, क्या न करे, ये उन्हीं के हाथ में है जो आजकल नौजवान यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में हैं। और अगर उनके दिमाग से ये बात गांधीजी की निकल गई या पूरीतौर से जमी नहीं तो बुरा होगा यह हमारे मुल्क के लिये, और जो सबमें कीमती चीज़ हमारी है उसको वो ज़ाया कर देंगे। इसलिए ये मुनासिब है।

अब मैं चन्द बातें अंग्रेजी में कह देता हूँ।

[Translation begins:

Mr. Chairman,¹¹⁵ Friends,

I have been put in a dilemma right in the beginning. As soon as I came here I was told that the delegates from other countries present here want me to speak in English. I have no objection to speaking in English. But somehow it does not seem quite proper to me to be sitting here in the University of Delhi to speak in English about Gandhiji. (Applause) Therefore I shall say a few words in Hindi first and then perhaps speak in English too. (Applause)

115. See fn 114 in this section.

You have just heard what the Gandhi Bhawan is going to be like. I am convinced that however it is made, it will be beautiful. But I wonder what will be done with this beautiful building and how the people who come here will benefit from this. We are idol worshippers and often feel that having put an idol in place, our work is over. We feel that we have done our duty by shouting slogans without realizing that the idol should find a place in our hearts. It is not enough to install an idol of stone or wood. (Applause) We do not realize that instead of shouting slogans human beings have to work hard in order to attain their goals. So I am afraid that our work may merely be for show, something superficial, without paying heed to what Gandhiji stood for.

These are the thoughts that come to me. But at the same time it is equally obvious that the idea of building a Gandhi Bhawan is a very good one. After all, there must be some means of teaching the new generation who have not had first-hand experience of the Gandhian era as to the kind of man that Gandhiji was. They must know him better than in name only and understand the man who shook India to its foundations and brought about an awakening in the hearts of India's millions, the man who showed a new light to the world. It was no small matter and the amazing thing is that so few people think seriously about what he stood for. We have all heard of him and respect his memory and yet how far apart we have grown from him. I am not talking about the younger generation for you did not come directly under the influence of his magnetic personality. I am talking of those innumerable people who belong to that era and have forgotten his teachings and have begun to stray away. There are others who wave the banner of Gandhism and talk about something that he may have said almost like a religious dogma. They forget everything else in holding on to a rigid line of thinking. This attitude is not very relevant for there is no room for vitality in anything rigid. Vitality is something which is born in the hearts and minds of men and bursts forth like a storm. The moment you shroud it in rigid dogma, it shrinks and becomes useless. The great men of this world are like controlled furies of nature, with nothing, rigid in their outlook and Gandhiji was one such human being.

How can one grasp and understand the human being that Gandhiji was? It is difficult to understand him fully because to do so we too must be of great stature. Now it is impossible that all of us should be like him. But we should have at least a glimmer of understanding in order to know the human being who turned India topsy-turvy and infused a new spark of life into India's weak, poor, downtrodden millions. Even from a selfish point of view, we should attempt to learn something from these ideas about what Gandhiji stood for because ultimately it was an idea, his entire way of life and history which infused vitality. We need that vitality in this country. He was a school, college, university or call

it what you like in which the men, women and children of India were students. He held classes of various kinds and taught the people many, many things. First of all he taught the lesson of fearlessness, because a human being with fear in his heart is useless and incapable of doing anything, crushed by his own fears. So he taught us to root out fear.

Two, he reminded us, the city dwellers, that the real India was in the villages. That does not mean that cities are bad. But the real India, symbolized by the rural peasants, is in the villages, not in the huge palaces and buildings in Delhi. It is true that all of us are Indians. But ultimately India's image is mirrored not in a Taj Mahal or any other palace but in the mud hovels of the poor peasants. That is the picture of India. (Applause)

I do not know why you cheered but these are things which we must understand India cannot change until its villages change until the farmer's lot is improved for he is the heart and soul of India.

Anyhow, he taught us all these things and more. We did not fully understand many of the things that he taught us—at least I could not understand them. Let me tell you quite frankly that I have always had difficulties in understanding what he said and often got into arguments with him. But to understand or not is one thing. It is still possible to realize the logic of what he said. It is obvious that he made a tremendous impact on me and millions of others in India, and the whole nation began to be moulded by his thinking. So it is worth knowing what kind of a man it was who could do this, is it not? The young men and women seated here should feel a stir of interest in knowing the man who came among us and shook the country to its foundations, and under his influence, poor, downtrodden men who had once gone around with bent backs, walked again with heads held high though their stomachs continued to be empty. He infused a spark of new life among a crushed people. This was no small achievement and therefore it is but proper that you should try to understand what it was in that man and his message which wrought this miracle.

We are caught up in a strange situation. Your whole life is spread out before you at a time when the world is changing and there are great ups and downs. Grave responsibilities will descend on your shoulders in India and abroad. At a crucial time like this it is even more necessary that we should understand the power that one human being wielded over India's millions. We should understand how it was, as Gopal Krishna Gokhale said about him once when Gandhiji was working in South Africa that he had the ability to infuse life into clay figurines. He infused life in us who had been figures of clay.

Therefore it is proper that there should be a Gandhi Bhawan in every university in order to provide an opportunity to those who have a curiosity, a search for the truth, to know about Gandhiji. The Gandhi Bhawan should not

be an exhibition for idle curiosity but ought to provide opportunity to those who are genuinely interested in knowing more about Gandhiji. If it can arouse a curiosity in others too, all the better. But I consider this to be an essential part of all universities because ultimately the future of India lies in the hands of the youth who are in colleges and universities today. If they are ignorant of what Gandhiji stood for or they do not grasp it fully, it will be bad for our country because we would be squandering away a precious heritage of ours. Therefore this is an excellent thing.

Now I shall say a few words in English.

Translation ends.]

[Speech in English follows]

Mr. Chairman and friends,

A little while ago, my friend Mr. Ramachandran¹¹⁶ said something about Vinobhaji and myself being competent interpreters of Gandhiji. Now, he is, I imagine, right about Vinobhaji but I am afraid he hasn't understood me at all, properly, and in his affection he has given me an honour which I do not deserve because whenever I think of Gandhiji and whenever I am made to speak about him, I have a feeling in me of utter inadequacy; the subject and the man, too big for me to understand.

How am I to talk about or speak about him when even in his lifetime I was always struggling with this question, because my memory of him running over a large number of years covering much ground but during all these years, and whether I was with him or away from him, the question always troubled me—Oh! I would not say, troubled me—Oh! I would not say, troubled, intrigued me or filled my mind as to what Gandhi was, because he was a giant among us all and I wanted to be able to understand a man who had so powerfully influenced India's millions, including one of the millions like me and like others and I found that being myself rather of a rebellious nature, not easily agreeing to anything that he said, trying to argue with him, trying even consciously or unconsciously, to irritate him, because I was, if I may say so, not at all of the religious variety of human beings, and I am not sorry to say.

I hope I have some element of spirituality in me but I am not moved by the things that move men of religion, but I was powerfully moved by him all the

116. G Ramachandran.

time. And when I went to him I sensed a feeling of inadequacy always, inadequacy in the sense that I had not lived up to what he has said or what he had expected us to do. Almost a sense of shame came over one, why can't we live up to these standards which he was setting forth to all our people. And so whether we lived up to them or not, we were pulled up continuously in the attempt to live up to. We fell often, made mistakes.

Now, again I speak not on the religious plane, on the plane of half a dozen prayers being recited to you of every religion but what impresses me is this man and the work he did in India because he did something amazing in India and having been through that period close to him, this sense of wonder never left me. He was a wonderful man and not by any means the person who did not make a mistake. I do not like people who do not make mistakes or who think, even more so, those people who think, they cannot make mistakes, but one could not help feeling that here was somebody who had the divine fire in him, somebody before whom the proudest head, went down, somebody in spite of all his mistakes—they occur—was the essence of truth.

And so one honoured him and so that basic feeling of truth and the basic feeling of, well non-violence I do not know, but non hatred. I do not think he had any hatred for anybody. That approach of his, of affection, of love, even for his opponent, and many an opponent I saw humbled before him by his approach of love and affection, and at the same time an unbending will, a man of steel who would not give up what he considered a basic principle although he would compromise over other things. So in this way he functioned and he functioned in this way not for a sect, not for a small group of intimate people, he functioned in this way with the 400 million people of India. That is the wonder of it, the amazement of it. He functioned in this way not on the religious plane, not on any narrow plane but on the public, political plane of India in this way. And that is unique in the world's history I believe. There have been very great men in the world but that this man should come and function on the political plane and raise that plane to higher levels and try to influence on that plane 400 million people of India, I never could get over the wonder of that.

Now whatever he may have stood for, I am not competent to tell you. I could tell you many things which impressed me. Others would be better exponents of what he stood for. For me it was how I felt about him that counted, even more than what I thought about him. And so even in later years, while I have played about on the political field, and agreed with some people and disagreed with others, more and more I have felt that it was not a man's opinion that was important, but what a man was, how he lived.

And this man was put to death by one of our own people, a young man. That is said to be a tragedy. I am not quite sure in my own mind if it was a

tragedy. It was a tragedy in some sense of course. In another sense, it was a fitting end to that man's career. But whether that was a tragedy or not, it would be a tragedy indeed if the people of India started forgetting him and his lesson. The death of his body meant nothing or not much, he had to die a little later perhaps, but it would be a killing of the spirit if the younger generation today forgets to think about him or what he said. Not only would they lose something very precious but something also which I think is peculiarly needed today in India and the world, and again I would like to say it is not so much the words he wrote or even the words he uttered and you may agree or disagree with this or that, but the whole thing taken together, I think, he was far greater than anything that he wrote or said. And his words sometimes, often, they are very powerful words. Nevertheless, they do not convey to you the man who was definitely greater.

But we cannot produce the man personally before you and so we have to go to his words and the record of his activities. It is a record which fills us with pride, fills us with humility, and for any Indian, young or old, not to be interested in that, even though he may not agree with it, is a strange thing which I cannot understand. I should have thought that men of this generation, growing generation, would be eager to know what this person was like whom they have not met or seen but about which they have heard so much. If that curiosity even is lacking, there is something very seriously lacking in us.

So it is good that opportunities of learning something about him and his thinking are placed in the way of our young people in the universities. How far they will profit by them, I do not know, but anyhow the door should be open for them to enter if they choose to enter. It is no good forcing them in there because their minds will be closed, we do not want people whose minds were not open and receptive and seeking to enter the portals of that Gandhi Bhawan, they will waste their time and waste the time of others. But I do want you to realise that in this India of ours today, in the immediate past, a mighty revolution happened and do not, when you talk about revolutions, think only of the major violent revolutions of other countries because this was a bigger revolution in its own way as any. Only it was a peaceful one. So people pay less heed to it perhaps.

Now a mighty revolution happened here and many of us are the children of that revolution, and that revolution in some way or other is going on and will go on. And we forget that fact that we have still to function in terms of that revolutionary process, to carry on the work that Gandhiji began and carry it forward so tremendously. We have to do that and if we fail in that, then we cease to be children of that revolution, we are merely hangers on and not living a worthwhile life in this exciting age in India and the world. And in doing that, I do not attach too much importance to your agreeing to this or that particular

matter which we told Gandhi stood for. He stood for many things and I hope you will be able to agree with many of those things, and I do not attach much importance to them, but I do attach importance that you are able, you are trying to get something of that fiery spirit behind all that. That is the important thing.

Now, today in India as elsewhere of course even more so, we talk of the wonders of this scientific and technological age. It is indeed wonderful, it is tremendous, it is revolutionary and it is taking the world in a direction which nobody can foresee how far it will go. We must not be frightened by that. And whether we are frightened or not, it has taken place and will take place. The world will not wait on our fears and we have to tread that path also fully but remember also that that path by itself does not quite appear to be adequate. And perhaps some of the problems of the age, major problems are due to that certain inadequacy in them. Something more is wanted, to control that, to round it off, to give it direction. And it may be that something more that is wanted, you may find in the broad approach and teachings of Gandhiji. I believe you can, the world can. We can.

Therefore, even from a strictly practical point of view, it becomes necessary that we should understand this man and his teachings and we must welcome every opportunity to do so. I say this and yet it frightens me how, the efforts to bring Gandhiji to the people or to bring his teachings to the people; how they miss the real essence of the thing because as I said right in the beginning, my own difficulty is how am I to deal, I, an ordinary man, with an extraordinary man; how can I talk about him or convey him to tell you what he used to eat, that because he dressed in a peculiar way or did not have much dress on, as if they have any value in a man.

These things will be important, or whether he was a vegetarian or whether he was this or that. All these are functions of his. To me it's of no importance whether Gandhi was a vegetarian or not. You see, we begin to seize the small things, the little things, according to me, the hundred little things and the hundred little things by themselves or taken together may have some importance but didn't make, but there are many people who have hundred, and hundred more things attached to them, all those hundreds and many more. They are not Gandhis at all, I am afraid, they are very far.

So, there is a difficulty in how to grasp the unsubstantial greatness of a man and find out what was it that moved millions of hearts. What was the essential truth for which he stood. You can find it if you seek it in his words, you can find it best of all in his life itself, for his life taken as a whole was a thing of beauty. It was a ballad almost sung out to the people of India in terms of action, no false note in it. Every gesture of his had beauty in it because behind that gesture was no anger. There was great feeling—he was a man of

tremendous feeling—but that feeling was a feeling of affection and love. And so his gestures and his words were soft though often you felt there was steel behind. How can I tell you what he was? It is beyond me. But it was given to us, to my generation to see him, to hear him, to work under him, and to imbibe something of what he said. Not much perhaps; we often failed as we fail today but the memory of him still revives us, gives us strength.

Thank you.

(Applause)

104. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Military Training in Schools¹¹⁷

You will remember my speaking to you a few days ago about the military training scheme started by the U.P. Government. This is called the P.E.C. (Pradeshik Education Corps).¹¹⁸

2. I think such efforts by States should be encouraged provided they are found to be good. General Thimayya told me some time ago that he had inspected this P.E.C. and formed a good opinion of it.

3. This is really for schools and perhaps colleges, and does not affect the rest of the public. The training also is elementary. I do not understand why this should be considered ultra vires of the State legislature.

4. One of the main advantages of these schemes is that they are much less expensive than others. The State Government also puts its entire energy into them.

5. I think that it would be a good thing if the Chief Minister's suggestion to have a small conference of representatives of the U.P. Government and the Defence Ministry is acted upon.

117. Note, 17 December 1959.

118. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 603.

105. To Cherian Thomas: Free Meals to Schoolchildren¹¹⁹

December 21, 1959

I have your letter of the 18th December.

I am always happy to attend a Children's rally. The proposal you are working at about giving two meals a day to all needy children between 3 and 8 as well as clothes, is excellent if it is given effect to properly. If it is at all possible for me, I should like to attend your rally, but normally I avoid accepting any engagements during the time of the Congress Session. I must attend to my primary work before I accept other engagements. All I can say, therefore, is that I shall try to attend your rally.¹²⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

106. To C.D. Deshmukh: Rabindra Sadan at Santiniketan¹²¹

Santiniketan
December 23, 1959

My dear Deshmukh,

I have come here to Santiniketan for the Convocation of Visva-Bharati University.¹²²

Among other matters that we discussed here at the Samsad meeting, the question of building Rabindra Sadan, the library and the art gallery came up. Last year I had laid the foundation stone of Rabindra Sadan. We were told that so far as the library and the art gallery were concerned, they were waiting for the plans etc., to be passed by the Ministry concerned in Delhi. It appears that financial help has already been given. The plans etc. were forwarded to the University Grants Commission, who sent them on to the Ministry, who, in their turn, sent them to the Central P.W.D. and there apparently they are still.

119. Letter to Cherian Thomas of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh. J.N. Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

120. The Press reported details of Nehru and Indira Gandhi attending the Children's Rally at Sri Kantirava Stadium in Bangalore on 13 January 1960.

121. Letter.

122. See item 107.

I shall be grateful if you could expedite this matter. We are anxious that these buildings should be ready by the time of the Tagore Centenary.

The division of work between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, insofar as Universities are concerned, seems to me rather odd. Universities deal with the Ministry of Education, but libraries, museums and art galleries are under the Ministry of SR & CA. The plans for the art gallery etc. apparently are being dealt with by the Ministry of SR & CA.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

107. At Santiniketan: Tagore's Educational Vision¹²³

Vice Chancellor, Graduates, and Members of the University and friends, I have been coming here for a number of years and you have done me the honour to make me the Acharya of this great Institution which enables me to visit you on this occasion and participate in these ceremonies. I have looked upon this coming here always greatly, apart from joining this ceremony, because a visit to Visva-Bharati or Santiniketan is always an event in my own life and my thinking, more specially to participate in this simple and dignified and thought-provoking ceremony is particularly moving to me. In itself it moves me, but more specially because it is connected in my mind with the presence of Gurudev.¹²⁴ So, I am grateful to you for this repeated opportunity for me to come here and gain inspiration from these surroundings and the memories that they conserve. I should like today to congratulate all of you, Visva-Bharati, on the new Upacharya that we are fortunate enough to have now. Sri Sudiranjana Das's acceptance of this office is something over which we can truly express our great satisfaction and happiness. Apart from this high attainments in many fields and specially one field where he reached the highest eminence, he comes here as a child of Visva-Bharati and Santiniketan, a person who is imbued with the spirit of this place, one of the earliest who came here and who used to love this place. So, he has come back to his own, and you welcome back one who is

123. Speech at the Annual Convocation of the Visva-Bharati University, 24 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

124. Rabindranath Tagore.

hundred per cent one with these surroundings and with the background which Visva-Bharati represents. You could have no better person than this who has shone in so many walks of life, but above all, in his devotion to the ideals of Gurudev as they are enshrined here. And, I would like to congratulate you and all of us on his coming here.

I should like also to express my deep appreciation of Sri Choudhury who bore this burden rather suddenly and has carried it for these many months. Our previous Upacharya, as you know and as you have just heard, left us because he became a National Professor, and suddenly there was a vacancy, and Sri Choudhury was good enough to agree, at our request, to fill it, and he has discharged this work with ability and perseverance. So, we are grateful to him.

You have just been listening to an able and thoughtful address from the Upacharya in which he has faintly put forth, put out to you, his own thinking about this institution in particular and to some extent of course the broader aspects of education. I hope that all of you will pay particular attention to what he has said because these subjects are of great importance in our country at any time, and more specially today. I have no doubt in my mind that an institution like Visva-Bharati has to serve a special purpose that special purpose cannot be isolated and should not be isolated from the general purpose. That is obvious, because if it is isolated then it is out off from the current of national life; but if it is submerged in all purposes than it ceases to have any special significance. Thus, you have to find some happy mean in being a part of the general purpose that dominates a nation's life and which changes from time to time because every living and moving and advancing community, while adhering to basic ideals nevertheless changes many things in its life, so the general purpose is not always the same, apart from ideals, and a special purpose may remain the same or may have something added on to it. We, everywhere I suppose, but certainly in India, we have certain basic conceptions, ideals, which are broad enough and deep enough not to be superficial, which are enduring, which, we believe, are fundamentals of a truthful approach to things, which are not narrow or dogmatic. Dogmas may change, but if it is truth, it need not change, it remains. Now, Gurudev gave special emphasis on these basic approaches, basic ideals which must endure even though many other things change, and it is right that we should hold to them, think of them. Because, if we forget them or bypass them, we miss something, not only of high importance but something that has given roots to our national life, and nothing, I think, is more dangerous for a community than to be uprooted from its soil and its roots of its national life. Therefore it becomes something of importance that we hold to those ideals. Fortunately for us, those ideals are free from any narrowness or dogma. I do not mean to say that we are not narrow and dogmatic. Of course, we are; all of

us are narrow and dogmatic; we are not above narrow dogmas; but what Gurudev chose to stress was not narrow and dogmatic. There are other aspects of our national life, there have been like in every country, which are dogmatic, which are narrow, and which have missed the real wisdom of India, if you may refer to it as such. So, while discarding the narrow things, discarding the dogmatic and the sectarian and the provincial and whatever separates us, if we hold to the basic truths which have been proclaimed from old in India and which have been proclaimed anew by Gurudev, we shall do well.

That is so, and there can be no doubt that Santiniketan and these names and Viswa Bharati are tied up in people's minds with that approach, and if you leave that approach then you lose, of course, those roots, and you do not get anything, to replace it, anything worthwhile, because you cannot, without that background you are not likely to succeed in any other phase. But then, there is another aspect which has to be remembered, and that is, we have to fit in with the current of life as it flows by. Anything that moves out of that current becomes static and stagnant water; and the current of life changes nowadays rather rapidly, the pace of change is considerable. We have to be, while we have to perform our duty, the nature of the duty also changes. The Yugadharma changes from Yuga to Yuga, and for one to hold on to performance which may have little meaning in a different context and environment means that he has lost touch with the changing world, changing thought, changing currents of life. How to do this therefore is the problem of the age. How to keep one's roots strong, how one's contact with one's soil and mother earth and sky, pure and strong, and yet at the same time be in tune with the changing world. I do not pretend to know an answer, but surely that is a question, a vital question which people, and more specially the Universities, have always to consider and always to answer, and to answer it not once, for all, but answer it anew from day to day, and month to month and year to year, because the pace of change becomes more and more rapid. It may be and there is, I believe in this pace of change a measure of event too. It has to allow us to think, to settle down. We are hurled and pushed from hither to thither, but whether it is good or evil is another matter. It is a fact of existence in the world today which we accept just as we accept the railway train and the automobile and electric light and the various powers that man has derived from nature. We accept them in our lives and if we accept these in our lives we have to accept the forces at work which bring these powers out.

In the whole history of mankind, something very new happened in the real, in the physical realm of living—I am not talking about deeper realms, in the last 100, 150, 200 if you like, but 150 years, which changed the life of man, began changing it progressively. Even to take an obvious instance, in regard to

communications, whether the communications are travelling oneself or sending a letter or a message, a remarkable change happened. For a thousand, two thousand or many thousand years communication, the pace of communication was much the same, limited to the fastest horse that could carry it. There is no faster way. Whether you go back to two thousand or three thousand years or whether you go back to 150 years the pace of sending a message or travel was the fastest horse. And if you look at war there were many differences in war, many—but whether it was essentially the Mahabharat type of war or Napoleon's war, the pace of transport was the same. It is an essential fact, a remarkable fact which we forget. Weapons changed somewhat no doubt, but an essential thing about war or peace is the speed of communications, and they remained more or less static for thousands of years when suddenly changes began—changes brought about by man's probing about into nature; for science ultimately is a probing into nature's ways—and finding out the hidden powers of nature, and this probing resulted in this amazing collection of events and discoveries and applications of those discoveries in the last 150 years which has changed the face of the earth we live upon and our daily lives are governed by it. And so that becomes in a sense the spirit of the age in which we live, an age which has many wonderful things in it and it has many terrible disasters also—terrible dangers and disasters. We may not like that age, may not fit in, or we may be excited by it. That is our individual reaction, but the fact remains that we have to live in this age whether we like it or dislike it, and we cannot cut ourselves off and retire to the tops of the mountains. Individuals might, a society cannot. So, we have to fit in with this age if we have to survive. Just as, if by misfortune, uttermost misfortune, we have to take to arms to fight for our freedom we do not take to the bow and arrow. We have to take to modern arms such as we can, the best as we can get or make. So in other ways too we have to accept the age in which we live in, at the same time holding on to all that has conditioned our race, all the good in it, that has given so many wonderful messages to us and to the world.

I suppose, the attempt to find a balance, a synthesis, between these two aspects takes place consciously or unconsciously in all of us who think, does not matter what kind of work they do. It has, but in a university it should take place consciously and deliberately, the thinking about it, not dogmatically, but deliberately thinking about and producing ideas which can make other people think. To some extent, and I say so with respect, I have a feeling that our universities have not encouraged a deliberate probing into these matters as much as they might have done. They have done excellent work probing into old and sometimes probing into the new; but this attempt to find a synthesis between the two has, on the whole, lacked that persistent study or thinking

which, I think, should be given to it. And, after all, it is from Universities, broadly speaking, that new ideas, new thinking came, because in universities people have or are supposed to have leisure to think and to live in an atmosphere which helps in thinking and in conversing, discussions etc., because that type of thinking becomes more and more difficult in life as most others have to live it from day to day with problems and difficulties. Now, take another aspect. A nation passes through various stages. Before our independence came for a whole generation or more than one or two period of two generations we were involved in our struggle for freedom which convulsed the nation, not only those who were actively concerned with it but others too. Life became one long—well—period of uncertainty for vast numbers of individuals and families and others, because we were living through a changing scene. Individuals may have led what they thought was a settled life in those days. Many individuals did, but their minds were perturbed nevertheless, and rightly so, because India was passing through a tremendous inner revolution of the spirit struggling with not only the normal problems of life, but with unsubstantial things of the spirit which produce a ferment in the mind of man. Now, in those days, a person who did not, who was not affected by this ferment of change and struggle and aspiration and all that and even conflict, however good he might be—and there were many good persons who were isolated from the nation, not physically I mean mentally—he did not feel those powerful urges that were convulsing Indian humanity by their million. He was not one of them. He was apart. He may do good deeds or bad deeds, but he was apart. He was not participating in that Yugadharma of the period, and therefore he was somehow being apart from his broad environment, he could not grow as he might have grown, because nations grow and individuals grow when they are part of these mighty currents, they lead them, they participate in them. The moment you out yourself well—off, you may grow a little, but you cannot reach the mountain tops of national growth.

Now, if that was so then, are we today settled down facing more or less a period of existence which is normal, and which is almost static? Surely not. Whether you look upon it from the point of view of the world or our nation, you are not. The world changes so rapidly because of new forces coming into play, new things, new conflicts, and we have before us this choice; the world has before us the choice of utilising these mighty forces for good, and great good, or for terrible disaster. But let us leave the world to its own resources. In our own country we are engaged in one of the most difficult and colossal tasks that any country has ever undertaken. We call it by any name you like; it gets embodied in kind of plans and development and five year plans and all that, but behind it all, is this task of raising these hundreds of millions of India's peoples

to higher levels of existence. It is, and the difficulty comes in, not basically in financial terms or other terms, the difficulty comes in because our hundreds and millions of people, and chiefly in our rural areas, excellent men and women, are rooted to traditional ways which prevent them from progressing. In a changing world they find it difficult to change. Because, ultimately, remember, it is not money that makes man, it is man that produces money. It is not machine that makes man, it is the man that makes the machine. If man becomes rooted and unchanging, it is difficult for all the machines and all the money in the world to push him fast. People seem to think it is a question of money; of course money is necessary, money must be had; otherwise progress is slow; money means not money, but rather resources; money creates, takes advantage of resources.

Now this raises the question of our pulling out our society, when I say our society, I mean the hundreds and millions of our people, from traditional structures, traditional ways of doing things, whether it is ploughing or farming or any other activity like this; many of whom seem to do it almost in the way they might have done in the Vedic times. Well patently, it is no high principle to fight with a bow and arrow when guns are about and atomic energy, nor is it a high principle that you must use the plough that was used thousands of years ago, and not improve upon it. Obviously not. Now, it is this traditionalism of that type that holds back our society, in many ways, not only in that. Of course, caste and all that is a symbol of that traditionalism, traditional hide-bound society which makes progress very difficult. That is the basic difficulty. I feel there are many other difficulties because in any case it is exceedingly difficult to pick up a people from that static or stagnant economic and social stage, to pull it up and make it, give it a dynamic economy. That everyone knows and we discuss it. But I am laying stress on this peculiarly traditional character of which has been represented by our caste system and social customs and the way we do things. Now, I do not believe that the Indian peasant is so hide-bound and conservative as people make out. I don't think he is, provided the right approach is made. The right approach is not made often by us though it is, I believe, being made now more and more because our approach to him is that of superior persons who teach, who do not do. That man has to do, we have to teach. I do not think any teacher is worthy of the name of teacher if he cannot do. There is no, there should be no separation from thought and action. Thought without action ends in nothing, or might end in nothing. Of course, I agree that thought itself is action very often; that is a different matter. But broadly speaking, thought without action is an abortion; action without thought is extreme folly. Unless the two are combined you cannot get good results, effective results; and the teacher has to go down. If he is an engineer he has to go down and crawl; in doing

engineering work he has to take the spade and dig and not sit in the office and issue orders to others to do things. One thing that has pulled us down very greatly, I feel, is this caste system being taken into almost every phase of our life and work. No engineer will hesitate an instant, whether it is America or Russia, to lie down on his belly and do a job or work. Indian engineers may think twice before that because he has others to command, and that applies to everything. We bring in our caste in our work. The man who sits at table and on the chair thinks himself superior to the man who works in the field or factory. He is entirely mistaken in that—absolutely mistaken. I think the other fellow is much better than him. He is living in touch; he is doing a solid piece of work while a man sitting in the chair might be just wasting his and the nation's time. Or be may not.

Now, what I am venturing to say is that all these various problems affect us today and we have to think about them and constantly go on thinking and revising our opinions, because the pace of change being what it is and it is for the universities to do it.

Now, we hear nowadays a great deal of student trouble, student indiscipline and all that, and naturally everyone is concerned. People talk about the inadequacy of our education. These are big questions. Now, it does not do very much good merely our getting angry with everything that happens around us, because we ourselves are the creators of those things; we ourselves produced those institutions or conditions under which these difficulties occur. And, it is seldom any good getting angry and angrier and angrier with oneself, it is a frustrating experience. But that is indicative of one fact—that something is wrong in human relationships. Something is wrong in the essential human relationship in a university between teacher and taught, because in University or any teaching establishment—school or college, is essentially and basically, the relationship between the teacher and the taught; all else is superficial, the buildings and whatever else you may do it is added on to them; the real thing is the relationship between the teacher and the taught. If something goes wrong there then the whole thing is upset. I am for the moment of course not talking about Visva-Bharati, I am talking about this general question. So, one result that we arrive at is this when we talk about all these difficulties in our educational system and so-called student indiscipline, why so-called, it is very obvious that something is wrong and something is wrong in the relationship between the teacher, professor and the taught. That inevitably follows, apart from other things, which may be wrong also. It is a different matter. You say you revere your teacher that is the old Indian teaching. Of course, if you do not revere your teacher you will get nothing out of him. You must respect him and if you think that you know more than the teacher, then you better set up as a teacher

yourself. What is the good of going to any teacher? All this lack.... So, however else you may deal with this question, it is important that we establish on a firm and friendly basis this relationship between the teacher and the taught, and that can only be done—at least, that is one of the important ways of doing it is for contact between the teacher and the taught. I mean to say not contact in the sense of lecturing to them; he lectures to the classes as they do, that is no real contact, but a much more personal contact. That too is lacking not because so much of lack of goodwill but lack of opportunity. Well, poor teachers lecture all day to thousands and thousands. It is impossible, physically impossible, for him to gain contacts, those intimate contacts. And yet, education must be one of contact between the teachers and the taught, not merely listening to lectures, one can read lectures in a book too. And the great teachers of [...] have always been men or women who, through personal example, personal contact, have changed the quality of those who came to them. I feel that it is very important in our educational sphere. Now, in a city like Calcutta this problem assumes enormous dimensions because of the vast number of people in the University and colleges. It is impossible for any teacher to keep touch with all, as far as I can see and understand, and some way has to be found somewhere. But at a place like Viswa Bharati that should certainly be possible. In fact, it should be essential, absolutely essential. Now, no doubt, the students, boys and girls, profit they must profit by this contact with the person who teaches them. But it might perhaps not be remembered; it might not be kept in mind that the teacher profits even more from contact with those whom he teaches. A teacher who lives in a world of himself, lecturing only, has lost touch with the subject, with the people he teaches, with the people whose minds he seeks to mould. Therefore, it is a question of mutual advantage that the teacher and the taught should know each other, came in contact and influence each other in different ways, and the teacher gets, above all, that breathe of growing and fresh life which is so vital in human being, otherwise he becomes a parchment himself. It is not good enough.

Well, we live in India at present in a very exciting age, and exciting ages are dangerous periods in a nation's history. You cannot have excitement or the glory of excitement without having to face the perils of excitement. If you want to climb the Himalayas, well, you undergo certain grave risks and dangers. So, we live in one of those exciting periods in the world's history and In addition to that an exciting period in our nation's development. This period requires all the concentrated thought and corporate thought that we can give to it, because the problem requires thinking, not following text book methods. It is the text book that trains our mind to think, not to provide answers of the world's problems, but to provide a mind which can seek for answers. We have that, but even more

than that. That of course one wants a good body and a keen mind, but we want something more, a spirit of daring, a spirit of corporate action, character etc. which you have pledged yourselves today, the Snatakas and all that, and a feeling of, well, faith in yourself and your country. It is important, that we should have that faith, because without that faith a person collapses before great problems. One cannot deal with them, one feel pessimistic.

There are far too many people in this country who appear to have no real faith in themselves. That is not a good thing. What is true, I do not think it is true thing. I have a great deal of faith in this country and our people. Yes, sometimes my faith has slackened in those who consider themselves learned and well-read, but my faith has never slackened in the mass of our Indian people and that has kept me going. They have given me a great deal of their love and affection and confidence for which I am infinitely grateful, and I can never repay them. But I think subconsciously they have been good enough to give that because I have never wavered in my faith in them, in my affection for them. Individuals may err and do err. We are all feeble, but I believe there is an inherent strength in the Indian people which has kept them going through the ages, and although we have had periods of growth and decay we have never entirely collapsed or surrendered in the inner sense of the word, and I don't think we will. And therefore, I am full of confidence about the future of India, but having this confidence I also see a period of hard work, very hard work, a period of austerity and a period of facing danger. Perhaps it is as well that we do so, because it is only when a country is faced with danger and difficulty that they go strong; otherwise they relapse into complacency.

So, that is the kind of life that you Snatakas have before you. Each individual will react to it in his own way. If the reaction is a dislike of danger and difficulty, and a strong desire to live a secure life in some corner of the world, then of course you are outside the current of Indian life today, and you may or may not have that secure life, but you will never enjoy the triumph of spirit which comes from facing big problems and overcoming difficulties, and life becomes a very drab affair and every day is a burden. But if you have the strength in you, to face problems, to sense adventure and excitement, then you grow with it, and as you grow the nation grows by your efforts. And so, you have this choice. Really, there is no choice about it, because a nation goes on whether you fit in with this or not. You cannot change the whole trend of a nation's life. The point is how you help it to go in the direction—how you fit in yourself, almost a personal issue. And here living at Santiniketan, in this Visva-Bharati University you have peculiar opportunities in a sense which are denied to others. Some opportunities you may not have here at present, and I do not know about the future, but the essential opportunities of imbibing the basic spirit that gives life

to an individual and to a nation and the basic teachings of India which Gurudev so magnificently represented, you have that opportunity. You live not in the crowded dusty and rather smelly lanes of a great city but in this open countryside. It reminds you of something that people forget in this age of science and technology; that is that in the final analysis we have to live on mother earth which has given us birth and sustained us. We have to imbibe energy from the sun, sun and earth. If you are friends with them and the trees and the soil and the many other things that the earth grows, then you are in tune with the spirit of the world. And if to that you add a keen mind and stout body to probe into the future and work for it, then indeed you have a personality that is well integrated and can achieve great things.

I hope, among the snatakas of today there will be many who will feel that way and feeling that way as they go out into the wider world they will think back of the days they were here at Viswa Bharati and remember that they owe her a service in the future.

Thank you.

108. To Homi J. Bhabha: Meetings of Scientific Bodies¹²⁵

Anand Bhawan, Allahabad
December 24, 1959

My dear Homi,

Your letter of December 23rd has reached me in Allahabad this evening. I am enclosing a message for the International Colloquium which you are holding from January 12. I am doing so now so that I may dispose of this matter.

I am glad you sent me a note about the Indian Mathematical Society. I had agreed to inaugurate this at the request of the Vice Chancellor of the Allahabad University and as I was in any event coming to Allahabad which is not only my hometown but my constituency.

As for the annual meeting of the National Institutes of Sciences in Bombay, I really do not remember how this came to be included in my programme. It is difficult for me to remember the inner pulls in these scientific organisations. I thought, as I was going to be in Bombay, I might well accept it.

125. Letter to the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

I am now going to Bombay early on the 2nd January just to be able to visit Trombay. I shall go straight from the airport to Trombay and return to Raj Bhavan in time for lunch there.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

109. To Prof. S. Sinha: Visva-Bharati Society¹²⁶

Anand Bhawan, Allahabad
December 25, 1959

Dear Professor Sinha,

I received your letter of the 22nd December as I was leaving Santiniketan today. Before I received it, I attended a meeting of the Visva-Bharati (Society). The general opinion there was that this Society should continue. Personally I think that it should continue and can do good work. Also, it was decided that it should concentrate its efforts, for the present and the near future, in connection with the Tagore Centenary celebrations.

As for other matters, these will no doubt be considered more after some further information is available.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

110. To K.L. Shrimali: Decay of Allahabad Public Library¹²⁷

Anand Bhawan, Allahabad
December 25, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

During my stay in Allahabad, Professor S.C. Deb, Honorary Secretary of the Public Library in Allahabad, came to see me and gave me the attached papers. He said that he had mentioned this matter to you. I am not quite sure which Ministry deals with libraries of this kind. If your Ministry does not deal with them, then you might send these papers to Humayun Kabir.

126. Letter.

127. Letter. File No. 8/113/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

I do not quite know what we can do about this library in Allahabad, but it does seem to me a pity that a library, with such good foundations, is gradually going to seed. I think we should take advantage of it and help to build it up. In the memorandum attached, some plans are given for additional buildings. I suppose they are necessary, but, in effect, mere buildings do not help. There have to be books and equipment and people to look after them. The present salary scale of the librarian and others is ridiculously low.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

111. At the Indian Mathematical Society¹²⁸

Prime Minister Nehru yesterday stressed the necessity of conducting research in mathematics which, he said, was the foundation of all sciences. Pandit Nehru was inaugurating the twenty-fifth conference of the Indian Mathematical Society.

"In a distant way," Pandit Nehru added, "I have been associated with our work for atomic energy in this country and other important allied subjects. My association has not been of deep knowledge in the subject but of deep interest in them."

"Historically India has been one of the leading figures in the earlier development of mathematics." Indian bent of philosophy and metaphysics, Pandit Nehru pointed out, was to some extent in that line. Apparently after the eleventh or twelfth century there was like many other things a kind of static period when no progress was made. In the twelfth century mathematics in India came with greater repetition, and not as a creative effort. "Even repetition of highest thought, which is necessary of course, by itself is not enough unless you can add to it and create something," he said.

The Prime Minister added: "I hope that we are entering in with the advent of freedom and independence, a creative period in our history."

Research Work in Universities

"Perhaps", Pandit Nehru said, "one thing which I might say is that I am not satisfied with the research work that was being done in various sciences in our universities. I am not quite sure if we can compare the quantity or quality of

128. Speech at the inauguration of the 25th Conference of the Indian Mathematical Society, Allahabad, 25 December 1959. Report from the *National Herald*, 27 December 1959.

research done in some great countries. It is not due to any lack of quality amongst our people but somehow we got entangled in other activities.

Pandit Nehru said that the test of a real teacher was his research work. Normally, a professor had got plenty of time for research. It was of greatest importance that Indian universities should encourage research work, give opportunities for research work and provide the tools and equipment for research. And teachers should realise that ultimately the worth of an individual was judged by the creative work he did and not by repetition of text books.

Stressing the need of cooperative energy for work, Pandit Nehru said: "Our universities might perhaps concentrate on particular types and specializations apart from general teaching. I am talking of high class research. By some kind of mutual consultation they could take up different subjects peculiarly suited to them. So the result might be better.

Atomic Research

About atomic research, Pandit Nehru said: "It is desirable that every university should have a sound foundation in nuclear physics because out of a university comes highest stage of study and research," he added.

Pandit Nehru said: "We decided to develop it as fully as we could through Atomic Energy Department in Bombay. We have developed a powerful centre of atomic research and some of our young men working there were first class in this field and already they have started making a mark in international gathering doing research in atomic energy. If you so spread out these good men, they would not have an opportunity and facility to achieve great results."

No Compulsion

The Prime Minister referred to the suggestion made by Dr. Shri Ranjan, Vice Chancellor of Allahabad University, that mathematics should be made a compulsory subject in high school and intermediate examinations and said that he did not believe in making subjects compulsory, irrespective of the fact whether a person was fit or not. Every educated person must know some mathematics but to force on him more of it was not good.

Prof. B.S. Madhava Rao in his presidential address said that one of the most remarkable features of modern scientific development was the continued and increasing use of diverse mathematical methods for the formulation of existing and new problems of the natural sciences specially physics. Attempts inspired by formulation had often created whole new mathematical entities,

thus enriching mathematics itself.

Earlier, welcoming the delegates, Dr. Ranjan said that nowadays the importance of scientific research was sufficiently obvious to the community. The progress of civilisation depended upon the development of various sciences—applied and pure. Mathematics was a pure science and it would be no exaggeration to say that it had formed the basis of all scientific development.—PTI

112. At the Delhi School of Economics: African and Indian Development¹²⁹

Mr. Chairman and friends,

I am grateful to you for inviting me here today. It was not a particularly easy matter for me to find time to come, partly because it takes such a long time to come to this university campus. (Applause) Today, I had to come here in the morning and now again in the afternoon and coming and going four times a day eats up a large part of the day. (Applause)

Nevertheless, I gladly accepted your invitation, partly because of you, partly because or shall I say the future which you represent. Because it is obvious, that even today in this vast changing world, one of the major areas, which are becoming very much alive and which are likely to change, and are changing rapidly are the areas of Africa. Any person, even with little foresight, can say that Africa is going to play a very considerable part in the future. What that part is going to be, it is difficult to prophesy. Because that part will depend upon the process of African freedom taking place in an orderly and peaceful manner or being resisted, and thus creating major conflicts. Both are possible. We hope and I am sure you all hope that this should take place peacefully and rapidly. And yet, I think that most people apart from Africans, most people hope that, and anyhow most people realise, that this change in Africa is inevitable, part of it has taken place and even now, we know that other parts of Africa will become independent in the course of the next year two years or three years, and yet in spite of all this, the problem of Africa still remains. In some areas, this is going to be a difficult job, because of all kinds of obstructions, vested interests, racial questions that have been raised there.

129. Inaugural Address at the Eighth Annual Function of the African Student's Federation, Delhi, 28 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

Well, you and I and all of us agree, broadly speaking, about the line that should be taken in Africa. We agree in Africa as indeed elsewhere, that there should be no colonial or other kind of domination. There should be freedom. We agree that racial inequality is utterly bad. And we find, of course, we find, the practice of racial inequality in many parts of the world but it is in Africa alone or some parts of Africa, where it assumes the status of governmental policy. It is bad enough in practice, it is worse if the whole structure of government lays that down and follows that policy, and we find that in some parts of Africa alone I believe. Elsewhere it exists but Government at least declare themselves against it and gradually I think it is lessening.

Now, this is creating today and will no doubt create in the future very special problems. The problem of a country requiring freedom is in itself not an easy one, every kind of vested interest comes into play and vested interests are very ferocious when somebody resents them. They defend themselves and in defending attack everybody who comes in their way. But that problem becomes peculiarly difficult, when you add on to it, the racial question, the idea of racial superiority and the like.

It really is a remarkable thing, that today any country should make this racial question as firm governmental policy. I can understand that these problems go deep down in history and sometimes it takes time to be solved. It is not easy even by law to change people's prejudices and opinions suddenly. It takes time. We know, on our part in India we have had as you will know all kinds of class and caste divisions which have been very injurious to India, and which have stratified Indian society not quite in the same way as racial divisions, nevertheless we have stratified Indian society to the disadvantage of the growth of India. Anyhow, in India not today, but for a long time past, we have set our minds against it completely and I think the changes are taking place very rapidly. But I will have you understand that I am not comparing what has been in India and what still exists in India is bad, but it is not racial in that sense. It is caste which is somewhat different, bad enough. And broadly it is a little easier, I imagine much easier, although even so it takes time to get rid of it, but the type of racial problems that are rising into some extent in Asia and much more so in Africa go deeper down. As I can understand that in order to get rid of these feeling it takes a little time but I cannot understand how people should accept them and eulogies this racial and discrimination policy and lay down the law to support it. We heard a great deal about this matter during the last Great War when the then rulers of Germany made that their governmental policy, and suppressed anybody whom they thought did not come up to their standard. Well, there it is, I merely mentioned this and to show that [...].

Now when we talk about freedom naturally your minds are principally

taken up by what is called political freedom. Because unless you achieve political freedom, other freedoms do not come. You want freedom from the domination of an external authority or power. That is inevitable and right, and yet obviously that freedom by itself is a limited freedom, till other types of freedom, economic, social also come. And it is these other types that take longer really and the burden is upon the country itself and its people to work terribly hard for it, it is out of their labour alone that this can come.

Now in India, as you no doubt realise, we have a colossal problem in gaining these, what I call, economic and social freedoms. Colossal for a variety reasons, one of course is the number of people in India, and the second is, that by and large in India where still great masses of our people live in the old traditional way. Now, I am not for rejecting tradition, what the tradition is to some extent, not only a good thing but the essential thing. After all, all of us are products of the past history which has conditioned us. We cannot reject our own history, whether in India or Africa. A people who reject their past are not likely to have much of a future. But that does not mean that we should accept and try to carry on everything that is in the past that is absurd because that means no progress at all. Therefore, while respecting our past, and to some extent, even if you like, taking pride in one's past, we should look forward to the future. That means often not only political change but getting out of the traditional society, structure of society, which may have been good enough in the past but is no longer good enough today. We in India, again, broadly speaking are trying to get our people out of that traditional structure. That again does not mean that we reject our past or our ideals or our principles that may have, though that is different thing.

I am talking about the social and economic structures. Now if you look at the countries of the world, which have made very considerable progress, you will find by and large, that these changes have come in the last 150 years or so. They also, had a more or less unchanging traditional way of living previously, they differed in each country, but broadly speaking it was rather static. Nothing can be completely static, no society, it does change, but it changes very little. Then some various things as you well know in industrial revolution and all that, which brought about these amazing changes which go on piling up from year to year, which brought them wealth, tremendous rates of production through new techniques scientific methods, and all that, and greater resources which enabled them to progress. Now so far as, the so called under-developed countries are concerned, they have also to get out of that traditional society, structure of society, and accept many modern methods, techniques etc. Because the modern world is after all governed by science, technology and the rest. Mind you, I don't say that science and technology make up the complete list of things that

one has to do in life, I don't accept that. The other things apart from science and technology, which I think are of vital significance to an individual or a group, or a nation, otherwise it has science and technologies are methods, ways techniques, but you have to decide yourself, exactly what your basic ideals are, objectives are, and utilise the methods of science to get there.

Now, two things happen. On the one side, there is this resistance of a traditional society to change and it is a difficult thing to handle. If you try to force it too much to change the change may come superficially, not really. One has of course to push it to change, because one wants to change as rapidly as possible. But it is rather doubtful how far a superficial change really brings about the results you aim at. Sometimes an attempt is made and the objective laid down, is more or less of keeping as a model or an ideal, some other country whatever it may be, because it is in an advanced country—let us copy it. Therein also lies danger. It is right obviously, that every country should try to learn from other countries, more especially from countries which are economically, socially, or otherwise advanced, obviously we learn from them. But learning from them is one thing, and slavish copying them is quite another. Because then there is a grave danger of your not being either well, of your own country or of any other country, sort of you lose yourselves between the two; although superficially in external ways, you may have changed but you may lose your roots in your own country, and it is very difficult to get the roots of another country except externally, they are not the roots.

I am saying this because we are constantly coming up with this problem in various ways. Naturally in a huge country like India, where we attempt to function in a democratic way, all kinds of ideas, right ideas, wrong ideas, all flourish. And people think in terms of a short cut. Some people are so overwhelmed by the success of other countries, that they want to copy it, whatever the country may be regardless of policies, it may be a socialistic country, Communist, capitalist or anything, but normally people admire success and so they try to imitate it.

Now, I want to distinguish very much, imitation from profiting by others' examples in learning from them. There is a big difference. The imitative psychology is not a good one, the psychology of relying on others too much and not relying on your own. Learning from others, I repeat, is a good thing, as much as you can. But the moment you imitate them you don't function by yourself. Also the conditions in every country, the background of a country etc. differ. I do not accept any theory which tells me that you must make the world after one single pattern, I just do not see why you should. I think the world would be a very very dull place if all were frightfully alike. The richness, the variety of the world makes it a far more interesting place to live in. Apart from

that the attempt is not likely to succeed because the conditions, backgrounds, the conditioning factors are so different. That again is against that idea of just trying to imitate or copy some other country however great that country might be. And when you take economics, now obviously the economics of let us say, the highly industrialised country are different from the economics of an undeveloped, non-industrialised community obviously. And oddly enough, inspite of that most of our text books deal or used to deal with the economics of a highly industrialised society and we try to learn from them and try to adapt them and we get into difficulties. And now of course, this point has been fully realised, and attention is diverted to the special problems of a country, and to evolving, well, the economics of that country in a way, so as to fit those problems. And this applies to other matters and other things too.

After you have finished your course of study here, you will go back to your countries in Africa and you will be engaged in various professions, various kinds of works. Some of you may be engaged in political work in effect every type of work in a country that is seeking freedom is affected by the freedom struggle. Whether you are doctor or engineer, it does not mean that a doctor and engineer should go about necessarily waving a flag in the street. But he is naturally affected by it. Every intelligent person is presumed to have a feeling about the freedom for one's country. Every sensitive person must have it. So he is attracted to what extent depends on circumstances what he does. Now, there is in the freedom struggle, there is again a danger, that is struggles against an alien authority is usually, rather it is positive certainly, but it is also very negative, that is its opposition the opposition may have content, the positive content but it is opposition inevitably. Now that opposition develops certain good qualities, but the moment you succeed in your struggle the qualities that opposition has developed weigh you down, they come in the way of your other types of work, which you have to do in a constructive way, later on. Therefore it is always a good thing to lay stress on the constructive nation building side of a nation's work even during the time of struggle, because it is that that will pay you afterwards. It is a good thing for a people to have special training, which a free country requires in a very large measure, from its citizens. If it only has the more or less type of opposition that training to oppose it paid dividends when they had a foreign government to oppose. It becomes a liability almost when you have succeeded there. Therefore, even in the course of a struggle one tries to build up, the nation building part of the country, one tries to that end. That was one of the principle things that our great leader Mr. Gandhi always had in view. He was a great rebel. He opposed the British Government, the British Empire. But he was always teaching his people down to the humblest villager to be constructive, to do something, not merely short slogans and through the

cause whole generation twenty, thirty years or more, he trained hundreds of millions in India. The success he achieved was remarkable, of course he did not change the whole nature of the Indian people in twenty or thirty years, but it was remarkable all the same [...]

The habit of the thinking of the big machine and not doing anything till it comes is definitely a bad habit. People should work with the resources they have got. And not wait for some high technique which even if it comes does not affect the mass of the people. When it comes it is welcome. It is not for me to give you any advice about conditions what you should do in Africa, because that depends on the circumstances of each country and all that. It is for you to judge but I would suggest to you to think whatever you may be doing in terms of constructive activity, building up and trying to get others to build up.

In India through the last, I should imagine over thirty years, the problem of an emergent Africa, was always before us. Of course so far as our struggle for freedom was concerned almost always we looked upon it as a part of a larger struggle in the world of colonial countries. Obviously in that context, Africa always came up before us, not that we can do anything in Africa but in our thinking came up before us. And if you took trouble to find out what we said and the type of resolutions we passed in the last thirty years you will find repeated references to that. You will find also reference to that advice we have given to Indians who were in Africa, in whatever capacity they were there. Always we told them that they must not think of living in Africa in any way, which might be to the disadvantage of the people of Africa. They must not in any sense exploit the people of Africa. It is a legitimate thing for them to try to do their work and to prosper obviously, otherwise they wouldn't go there, but that must not be at the expense of the African people. In fact that they must consider themselves always as guests that is if they are underdeveloped, they have no place there. That is a broad advice we gave, and I think our advice had effect. Naturally, people sometimes looked to their own interests in small groups or individuals, whether in business or trade; that is a habit or the normal method of carrying on trade or cut throat business. The capitalist way of carrying on trade is to knock down your competitor, and stand on his shoulders. And so, no doubt many Africans must have felt that these Indian shopkeepers and others are exploiting us. They might have been, in that small way. The point is not the individual who did it but rather the basic policy underlying this in India, that has been perfectly clear. And we never had any doubt about it, and so it pains us when we find that there is any kind of misunderstanding or conflict between the Indians there and the people of the great continent. I hope these misunderstandings will pass, and they can only pass if the basic policy which we have laid down is pursued and if the Africans also do not allow themselves

to be swept away by some law, some petty incidents, which may happen anywhere, but realise what our policy is, which is obviously to their advantage. I have little doubt that those of you who have studied here or elsewhere, when you go back naturally have greater responsibilities thrust upon you, because you have taken advantage of some kind of specialised education which has made you fitter to serve in your country in whatever department of life that may be. Therefore, responsibility will come to you, because relatively speaking, there will not be too many people like you, having those opportunities, of course they will grow in your own countries. Therefore, greater responsibilities will come on you and you will have to discharge them not only from the point of view of your training in the particular subject that you may have learnt, but from a wider point of view, looking far ahead in the future, with force, I mean with strength certainly, but with wisdom and restraint too.

It is a very important thing, the restraint of a movement. Restraint, if it leads to passivity, is not restraint, it is just passivity. But the restraint of an organised approach to things leads to strength, that is the lesson we learnt from Mr. Gandhi, and leads to a solution of a problem much more easily than if there is no restraint and merely anger and passion behind it. Anger may be justified, it often is, there is righteous indignation to wrong, it is alright. Nevertheless a nation has to be disciplined in order to achieve great deeds, especially when you have great forces, organised forces opposing. You have to show discipline. And from the point of view of ideals, I would always recommend a peaceful approach to problems. And for other reasons too, apart from this idealistic approach. The other reasons being that in circumstances as they exist today in Africa, it is not only unwise but almost bordering on folly to be violent when the greater violence is on the other side. You get caught in your own tangle of violence, it does not pay. And thirdly, in the modern world, a part of the second, with this tremendous advance of weapons this and that, that type of popular violence has lost meaning. Any movement that indulges in it will never create an impression it does, it may, but the chances are that reaction will weaken it. And so you have to go through the same process again. Of course, one has always to distinguish between the peaceful movement, which is not a weak movement, which believes in itself, which cultivates strength, which is not afraid, and the other where a so called peaceful movement which may just be the presence of fear, of doing nothing at all which is bad because fear is a bad thing anyhow. No nation can be built up out of fear. But consciously peaceful movement with strength behind it adds to that strength and when opportunities come, you can take advantage of them.

Well, I spoke a lot to you. And I am grateful to you for having invited me and I am happy that all of you are here in India, and I hope you will go back,

having derived some advantage and some benefit from your stay and studies in India, and with friendship for India.

Thank you.

(Applause)

113. At the Conference of the New Education Fellowship: An Educational Vision¹³⁰

Mr. President¹³¹ and friends,

In spite of what the President has said about me, I feel very diffident about speaking to this distinguished audience of educationists. Obviously, all of us who dabble in public affairs or in various aspects of public life come up against the problem of education, for the simple reason that we come up against human beings. You can't deal with human beings without thinking of how they should be made to develop and what opportunity should be given to them, how they should behave towards each other, as individuals, as groups or as nations.

Some of us who function in the political field are constantly troubled by this problem; as to what we should do about it. Thinking more in terms of people's public behaviour, as also of course their private behaviour, thinking in terms of holding on to the good they have got and adding to what they have not got.

All countries, I suppose, more specially in a community with very deep roots in the soil, like in India, have been conditioned first by hundreds of generations going back to thousands of years and they develop certain trends, certain habits of thinking, certain superstitions, certain things that are good and certain things that are bad. And then, as we have to face today, we have to jump rather rapidly into a new type of world. That jump takes place everywhere in the world but perhaps because of a long period, of a static period, the jump has to be all the bigger here, all the greater. And, therefore, perhaps many of the problems that face us in India are not quite the same or may be more intensified than the problems, let us say of Europe. To some extent, there must be a commonness of problems in education all over the world. Obviously, those problems differ in different countries. I have found, in other matters, too, how

130. Inaugural Address at the Tenth World Conference of New Education Fellowship, New Delhi, 28 December 1959.

131. K.G. Saiyidain.

experts in the modern ways of life sometimes try to find out some rigid formula which they can apply everywhere.

Now, one of the virtues as I see of your New Education Fellowship is that you do not so. You have naturally certain ideals, certain objectives which I think, are basic and which should apply anywhere but are nevertheless flexible. Now, I do not know very much—I confess to my regret—I do not very much know about the work that the New Education Fellowship has done. I have occasionally talked about it to people and I remember particularly that one of your Founder-Members, Dr. Laurin Zilliacus, on a few occasions that I met him, whenever he came to India and once abroad too, telling me about this New Education Fellowship. And may I say how grieved I have been to learn of his passing away just a little before this Conference was to meet in Delhi. He was a man whom I admired even though I had not come much in contact, but the little contact that we had, I think, made us understand each other and like each other.

So I do not know what kind of vision Mr. Saiyidain said I can bring before you because the hard facts of life make us grope about a lot, sometimes rather in the dark. The vision may come to the individual sometimes but that vision is knocked about a great deal when one tries to translate that into action, one comes up again with this particular hard fact that it requires a great deal of care and a great deal of affectionate understanding to train human beings. One can of course, order them about, one can make them do all kinds of things nowadays by either the power of the state or the power of influencing minds by curious forms of advertisements or the like. And that kind of thing grows.

I sometimes wonder whether all the efforts being made—the good efforts being made—for the right type of training produce the right type of individual or group; may not all these efforts be submerged by the other forces and other conditioning factors of the modern State and modern life generally, introducing something to which I react not at all well, and this is the powerful advertising that goes on. I have somehow conditioned myself to react against a thing advertised. I do not know if it is a right reaction or not. But if I am told too much to do something I react against it. I suppose this is an old habit of being a bit of a rebel.

The fact is that here we are in a world where an organisation like the New Education Fellowship is looking down rather deep into the springs of human action and thought and tries to direct it in a friendly, affectionate way, in a particular direction or cooperative endeavour and mutual understanding, while at the same time all kinds of forces are functioning in this world which condition people in a different direction. I do not know which of these efforts will ultimately win in the end, though, I hope, and in the back of my mind I believe, the right

effort will win. I have to deal not as an educationist as such but I have to deal even as a politician, if you like, with masses of human beings. We have a large number of them in India, a very large number and sometimes I feel that we set about taking them in small groups here and there, well we want a million groups, I do not know how many millions of groups. How are we to reach all these people? No doubt one can reach them.

A good thing spreads and I have no doubt that your way is a good way. I am not criticising but I am merely pointing out to you the immensity of the problem which we have to face in India, I have no doubt elsewhere too. And so in my own way, limited way, I deal with these masses of human beings, I try to deal with them shall I say, by trying to be friendly and understanding to them, trying to understand them and I have found how much easier it is to approach them or their minds even for the time being, by that friendly and understanding approach. It has to be a two-way traffic for all these things. You cannot, I suppose, impose your ways of thinking on another person unless you are prepared to be imposed upon. It is a bad word—'imposition'. What I mean is that if you have to give something you have to be receptive to something also and once there is that mood of receptiveness you create that mood in the other party too.

Of course, the teacher-pupil relationship is a very peculiar, very delicate and a very fine one and it has always been recognised as one of the highest forms of relationship in our cultural traditions in India. How far it is observed in India now is an entirely different matter. It is singularly absent. I have often said here we want on the one hand to develop education fast, rapidly the normal routine education, apart from the finer shape of it; we must have certain routine basis to build it. And all kinds of difficulties come up—financial, lack of technical trained persons and all that. We are trying to get over them, and no doubt we shall get over. I have pointed out and have been laying stress on this that people talk about money being not available—I am thinking of primary education.

I have said that a school consists of a teacher and pupils, not only buildings. Why get entangled in buildings, especially in a climate like India? Why not sit under a village tree and there is the teacher and there is the pupil. Of course, you can have a building when you can afford one, you can built it yourself. You will have a more intimate relationship sitting under the tree than usually. What they do here is to put up a very ugly building not fitting into the village at all.

Some of you may have gone to Rabindranath Tagore's University, Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan. He deliberately started his classes under trees. I have the honour to be the Chancellor of that University at the present moment—an honour which came to me, well, because Rabindranath Tagore, in a sense, made me promise to help that University after he had gone. A week ago, I was presiding

over that University¹³² and we held our convocation in the mango grove, not at all in a hall. It seemed to me much better than your fine buildings, more fitting in with the type of education that is sought to be given there.

So the ultimate relationship in education is between the teacher and the pupil, not the fine buildings. Fine buildings, of course, are necessary and we have to put them up especially in cities. You have not got any other place. In a village you might. You have not got equable climate in every other place.

Now it seems to me that you are trying to develop this relationship by your group system and not so much teacher and pupil because sometimes the pupil can teach the teacher materially—not teach in the sense of any special trade or anything, the teacher may be more efficient—but I mean to say teach him about human beings. Every teacher, if he is a good teacher, must learn from his pupil, must react to them.

Now, forgive me for talking about myself but to some extent this problem comes up before me in an entirely different context, apart from the normal context which a person connected with Government has to deal with. It comes up before me when I address large audiences in India, almost even more so when I address the more or less illiterate audiences in villages. I mean in rural areas, in towns also but not to that extent. Audiences in India at public meetings are, I think, probably bigger than anywhere in the world. Because of my keen wish, to be in some kind of mental communion with them and to put across what I may have in my mind so that they may be receptive to it. I first of all make myself receptive to them. It is not difficult, because, from long contact we have got to know each other somewhat—distantly no doubt—but there is a basis of friendship between us, a basis of affection which is very helpful obviously; where affection is, understanding is easier.

And so I am criticised, I am often criticised of treating a mass meeting as a kind of school and that I am functioning as a school master. That is partly true, not in the technical sense of course, but there is that desire for putting across, not in the pure politician's way, but in a way because we are companions, we are comrades, we have got to do a job to understand each other, to understand the work we have got to do, all that kind of thing. I do not know of course how far that is remembered but it leaves. I suppose, some kind of sub strata, some layer in the mind is there and it comes up on occasions.

One cannot easily change millions and millions of people in that mass way. That has to come by much more regular approaches which education is supposed to afford. But there it is, the immensity of this problem of hundreds of millions

132. See item 107.

of people, foolish people, every kind of people, intelligent people and non intelligent people, but broadly speaking very good people, that is, being treated well, they respond to it easily as most people do, I suppose, anywhere, if treated well, they respond to it. It is only when they are not treated well, that they do not respond.

But it is not a question of my treating or the teacher treating or the professor, but life treats them harshly and conditions them because the life we have to live is a harsh and hard life. How is one to remedy that—by lectures and speeches, all that and good fellowship—except to try to change hard conditions of life so that they may not themselves harden and develop wrong urges. That becomes a much wider problem and education itself of course is not a problem of the school only of the college or universities as your fellowship lays stress but concerns itself with the individual and the group and society and the problems the individual and the group has to face. So really it is not a question—a limited question—it covers the whole range of life that one has to deal with and a range of life when—at a time changing in two ways so far as we are concerned, in one way because we are in the economic sense or the social sense, we are one of the underdeveloped countries, trying hard to catch up and to develop and to give at least the basic necessities of life to our people. If we make life not quite so hard and harsh, other things will no doubt follow. So we have to change fairly rapidly. The second, but apart from this, there is a change that is coming all over the world, the tremendous pace of change by technological or scientific discoveries which is changing everything. So this double process of change—coming over a vast section of humanity, which, in a sense has remained more or less changing, static; not of course static, they do change, but broadly speaking their conditions of life do not change much for a long period. Their having to face this double challenge, a terrific thing, is uprooting. How to bring about this uprooting, this change, rather without too much uprooting, again, is a very big problem.

I am not directly connected with the teaching profession I mean to say colleges, universities elsewhere but one can see this problem coming up before our young men or young women, these, shall I say, attacks of new ideas, new things, new habits to which they have not been accustomed, to which they have not grown, upsetting them and sometimes leading them to misbehaviour or just riotous behaviour or anything.

Behind this lies ultimately this lack of settling down anywhere, they are pulled out from one place and they get no other roots anywhere. All this multitude of problems, I suppose, can only be dealt with satisfactorily, in so far as an individual is concerned, by individual approaches and more or less individual or small group approaches which you are doing.

But then the only thing that strikes me is how we spread these approaches to a vast population through teachers, trained teachers. Teachers train groups and groups train other groups no doubt. That obviously seems the right way and one hopes that this will spread and produce the right results.

At the same time one sees other people functioning in opposite directions, spreading the wrong ideas—one sees, of course, internally in the country, one sees that—but then one sees how a people, a nation let us say, any organised national community, how it develops, broadly speaking a one-track mind so far as the nation, its own nation is concerned. The rest of the world is outside. Then again, you are trying to prevent that one-track mind but it does exist, very powerfully, sometimes more, sometimes less, but that one track mind which makes one think that what one's own nation says or does is obviously right and those who disagree with it are obviously wrong and sometimes are indulging in knavish behaviour.

I do not know when you can get over these tremendous narrowing walls. All I can say is that ultimately one has to approach these matters naturally in two ways and the best way, of course, is the individual being influenced through educational methods as well as through other functions of societies, as far as one can. The other way is the social structure changing so as to help in producing a better individual.

One may be called in the ultimate analysis—almost the religious approach and making—not in a narrow sense, I mean in the sense that a good man makes others good, makes the people who come round him good, he radiates goodness and improves the people who come to him and so on it spreads wider and wider. Broadly speaking it is the religious approach. I am not speaking as a man of religion at all, but I am merely stating that a good man does make people feel his goodness and to some extent imbibe it and very often you are ashamed when you are in his presence because you don't measure up to his standard and therefore your conceit goes. The other, I suppose, is the changing structure, social structure, economic structure which helps in removing many of the strains which people suffer from and the difficulties which life is always presenting, at any rate produces an environment where you can progress, the individual can progress more easily.

But I suppose both these, the environmental approach and the approach of the individual to the individual, or group to group have to be followed, pursued side by side in order to get good results on a fairly wide scale.

You will see that I can offer you no vision at all. All I can offer you is a spectacle of a person trying to grope all over the place and trying to find something which might help him in doing his job in life, which happens to be rather a big one. The only way one can do any piece of work with any satisfaction

is to believe in it and to feel that you can do it and you can succeed or you can go a long way to success. Big jobs of course take a long time. So one gropes and one comes up at every stage—whatever the problem—to the problem of the individual and how to deal with the individual, how he has been oriented or trained or conditioned by his previous life, and chiefly his education, and so one comes back to the basic problem of education in a community which makes or mars a community and that is what you are dealing and therefore I wish you all success.

114. To S.R. Das: Reconstructing Visva-Bharati Library¹³³

December 28, 1959

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

I wrote to C.D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, about the Library building etc.¹³⁴ I enclose a copy of his reply.

If you have to change your entire planning of these buildings, that would delay matters a great deal. I hardly think this will be worthwhile. I suppose you came to the previous decisions after a good deal of thought. Perhaps, you might write to Deshmukh directly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

115. To N.B. Parulekar: Swedish Scholarship Offer¹³⁵

December 29, 1959

Dear Dr. Parulekar,

Your letter of the 26th December. The Prime Minister of Sweden mentioned to me that as a gift to me he would like to give a scholarship (one and not two) for an Indian boy or girl to go to Sweden for studies. He rather laid stress on the personal aspect. I thanked him for it. As a matter of fact, no formal offer has come to us yet. But even when it comes, in view of what the Prime Minister of

133. Letter. Papers from Rabindrabhawan, Visva-Bharati, Shantiniketan. Also available in JN Collection.

134. See item 106.

135. Letter to the President, India Foundation, Poona.

Sweden told me, I do not think it will be proper for me to turn over this scholarship to any organisation, howsoever good it might be. Of course, I can consult them when need arises.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

116. To S.R. Das: Visva-Bharati Treasurer¹³⁶

December 29, 1959

My dear Sudhi da,

I have just seen your letter of the 27th December about the Treasurership. I agree with you that a certain confusion has arisen about this matter. At the Samsad meeting, whether a formal resolution was passed or not, it is true that the wish of the Samsad was conveyed to Shri Chaudhri that he might withdraw his resignation. I myself mentioned it to him. Now he has withdrawn it in writing. To tell him now that we are not prepared to accept his withdrawal would be awkward to you, to me and to some extent to the Samsad.

You will remember that after the Samsad meeting and also the next day we had a little talk about this matter. You said that for this particular type of work dealing with accounts, finances, etc., Chaudhri was a competent man and, in the circumstances, he might be allowed to continue as Treasurer if he withdrew his resignation.

There are now two aspects of this question: one is about Shri Dhiren Mitra. I suppose that he will understand the position if it is explained to him and will not mind. The other is to what you have referred in your letter, that is, how far K.C. Chaudhri will be suitable from all points of view for the Treasurership. Purely as a Treasurer, he is likely to be good. On the other hand, he may not fit in with the ideals and objectives that you have for Visva-Bharati. Normally speaking, a Treasurer's work is a formal one and does not concern itself with major policies. It is true that there is certain background in Visva-Bharati of internal pulls and it would be a pity if this was allowed to continue.

In view of the situation that has arisen, I find it a little difficult for you or for me to tell Shri Chaudhri that we are unable to accept his withdrawal and he must go. This will not be courteous to the Samsad after what happened there. I would suggest to you, therefore, writing to Shri K.C. Chaudhri, if you agree, that his withdrawal has been accepted by me and you will welcome his co-

operation in giving a new spurt to the activities of Visva-Bharati and in the preservation of Gurudeva's ideals. You may add that you had gone there for this particular purpose and you would like Visva-Bharati to pull itself out of all controversies and devote itself to the objectives as laid down by Gurudeva and subsequently even by the Statute.

Somewhat to this effect, you might write to him. This would give him an indication of how you would like him to work. If any kind of difficulty arises later, we shall have to deal with it then. Broadly speaking, you should see to it that he confines himself to his specific work and does not interfere with your work as Vice-Chancellor. You might also mention to him, what you have told him already that you had asked Dhiren Mitra to accept the office of Treasurer as you thought that he (K.C. Chaudhuri) was leaving. Dhiren Mitra had agreed and it was somewhat embarrassing now for you to go back on threat. However, in view of K.C. Chaudhuri's wish to continue, you are explaining the situation to Dhiren Mitra.

To Dhiren Mitra you will, of course, explain this embarrassing situation and express your apologies and mine.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

117. To S.R. Das: Visva-Bharati Treasurer¹³⁷

December 30, 1959

My dear Sudhi-da,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th December. I have also received one from you yesterday. Two days ago I wrote to you on this subject of K.C. Chaudhuri fairly and fully.

There can be no doubt that there was no resolution of the Samsad, but, as I wrote to you, there was a definite mention of this and thereafter a request by me to K.C. Chaudhuri. I still feel some difficulty about deciding this matter on the technical plea for not having a resolution or Chaudhuri not having addressed his withdrawal of resignation to me.

Perhaps you might write to him and explain your difficulties, including that of Dhiren Mitra, and tell him that if he is prepared to cooperate with you

137. Letter.

fully, then you will gladly have him back. This would be an intermediate course and put the burden of cooperation on him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

118. To Suresh Ram: Allahabad University Problems¹³⁸

December 31, 1959

Dear Suresh Ramji,

I have your letter of the 29th December. I am glad to learn that you have kept well in spite of your fast which is going to end tomorrow.¹³⁹

Perhaps you know that I do not think that fasting should be applied to political work. There may be rare cases when this may be considered necessary. But this is not for the average person. I have no doubt, however, that your motives were of the best.

I think that the Allahabad University will be able to start functioning before long. I was deeply shocked by the behaviour of the students there. I do not blame them because their behaviour was so irresponsible and due, no doubt, to all kinds of circumstances. In dealing with such a situation, friendly approaches are always desirable. But the disease was deep-rooted and superficial settlements did no good.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

138. Letter to the Secretary, Allahabad Sarvodaya Mandal.

139. As reported in the *National Herald* of 3 January 1960, Suresh Ram broke his "self purification" fast which he had begun on 18 December 1959. According to him, the fast "was not against any person or authority, nor for redress of any grievance or satisfaction of any demand. It was a humble protest against the brutal ways of force and violence which were a veritable menace, much more so in a university. It was a silent prayer for mutual trust and noble means and right endeavour."

(g) Culture

119. To K.K. Shah: S.S. More Book Release¹⁴⁰

December 2, 1959

My dear Shah,

S.S. More came to see me a little while ago and again pressed me to attend the publication ceremony of his book. I told him that I would gladly do this if it could be fitted in and referred him to you.

In my letter to you of November 27th I gave you my programme for the 3rd January. Would it be possible to fit in More's book ceremony on the 3rd January in the afternoon, say about 3:30 or so? My next engagement is at 4 or 4.30 at Matunga, as I wrote to you. If that engagement is at 4.30, we can have More's ceremony at 3:30. That will give ample time.

Yours sincerely
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

120. To Humayun Kabir: Schiller and Amrita Sher-Gill¹⁴¹

December 3, 1959

My dear Humayun,

I am sending you the little book I spoke to you about. This is the first edition of a poem by Schiller published in 1811.

I hear reports that Amrita Sher-Gill's paintings are deteriorating rather rapidly and that they are not being properly looked after. Also, they have been separated in various rooms. It would be a pity if we cannot look after our good paintings. I have not been very happy about the men in charge of these. The one good man we had some time ago was pushed out.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

140. Letter to the President, Bombay Regional Congress Committee.

141. Letter to the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. File No. 40 (160) 58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

121. To Axel Springer: Clearing a Misunderstanding¹⁴²

Thank you for your telegram.¹⁴³ I do not know how my words at a press conference have been reported abroad.¹⁴⁴ I shall therefore elucidate what I meant.

I said that no present Government in existing circumstances wanted reunification of Germany except on its own terms which were unacceptable to some other Government. Hence there was a deadlock which cannot be resolved directly till conditions change. I was referring to Governments and not to peoples and to existing conditions. I realise and appreciate the desire of German people to reunite and that ultimately this is the only proper solution for a great people. But fears and apprehensions come in the way today on every side preventing this development. Therefore it becomes imperative to remove these fears and tensions and thus to prepare ground for just settlements in accordance with the wishes of the people.

122. To R.K. Trivedi: The Metcalfe House Journal¹⁴⁵

December 14, 1959

Dear Shri Trivedi,

Thank you for sending me a number of The Metcalfe House Journal. I think it is a good idea to have this journal. I have not read the articles in it, but I have glanced through the journal and seen the list of articles in it. Many of them deal with subjects of interest, and I am sure that many people will enjoy reading them. I wish you success in this undertaking.

I do not quite understand why this journal should be meant for private circulation only.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

142. Telegram to a Publisher at Hamburg, 5 December 1959.

143. In his telegram of 4 December 1959, Springer declared that Germans would never resign themselves to a permanent division of Germany and that such a division would perpetuate tension.

144. The *Times of India News Service*, Berlin, reported on 5 December a radio address by Franz Thedieck, State Secretary in the West German Ministry for All American Affairs, sharply criticising Nehru's comment. The West German Embassy in New Delhi had been instructed to seek clarification from Nehru. See also item 2.

145. Letter to the Deputy Director, National Academy of Administration.

123. To C.D. Deshmukh: Rose Show¹⁴⁶

December 17, 1959

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th December which I have only just received. I would have loved to come to the Rose Show, but the Swedish Prime Minister will keep me busy the whole afternoon on the 19th and, in fact, the evening also. So I am afraid I cannot come. I enclose a brief message separately.¹⁴⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

124. To Humayun Kabir: Visva-Bharati Library¹⁴⁸

Santiniketan

December 23, 1959

My dear Humayun,

I have come here for the Visva-Bharati Convocation.

We have all been anxious to expedite the construction of the Rabindra Sadan, the art gallery and the library. Apparently the financial sanction had all been given. So far as the art gallery and the library are concerned, their plans were sent to the University Grants Commission, who apparently forwarded them to your Ministry. Your Ministry, in turn, sent them on to the Central P.W.D. They have not come back yet and so work has been hung up. If construction is not started soon, it would be difficult to get these buildings ready by the time of the Tagore Centenary. I hope, therefore, that you will expedite this matter.

There is another difficulty. The site chosen for the library is the place where at present the Shishu Vibhag functions. Therefore, the Shishu Vibhag will have to be moved from there and the present old building demolished and then the library building will go up.

146. Letter. File No. 9/2/59-PMS.

147. "I am fond of many flowers, but the Rose has become a special companion to me for the last dozen years or more. It is a symbol of beauty of course, but also it has gentleness and a certain graciousness, which, alas, are not very evident in the world today. I am sorry I cannot attend the All India Rose Show. Much as I would have liked to go for it, I must deny myself that pleasure as a very eminent guest of ours is coming here then." 17 December 1959, New Delhi. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

148. Letter.

It is rather odd that while most matters connected with this and other Universities go to the Ministry of Education, the library and art gallery etc. are dealt with by your Ministry. I suppose this leads also to delay.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

125. To MEA: Bhikku Chaman Lal's Archival Collections¹⁴⁹

I have been having a talk with Bhikku Chaman Lal and looking through a large collection of papers and photographs which he has brought. He is a very odd person and sometimes acts foolishly. At the same time, he is rather a remarkable individual with an amazing capacity for special kinds of work. I feel we should utilise his services in some suitable way. There is of course no question of paying him anything.

About the middle of 1959, he spent two or three months in East Africa—Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika—and got on very well with the Indians and Africans there. He suggests that we might ask him to go there for a month or two. There is no question of our paying him anything except his fare. He has a remarkable capacity of getting on with people. I am inclined to think that it would be worthwhile sending him there entirely in a non-official capacity.

He has got an amazing collection of papers and pictures about the Gypsies all over Europe as well as in America and also a separate big collection of papers and pictures about the Maoris in New Zealand. He was helped in getting this collection by the Prime Minister of New Zealand. In both these cases the papers and pictures he has brought indicate surprising contacts with India and with Sanskrit. Both these people, the Gypsies and the Maoris, apparently have strong traditions of having come from India.

I think that it would be a good thing if these two books of his about the Gypsies and the Maoris were published. Of course, someone should examine the material first. I have hurriedly looked through it and it seemed to me worthwhile. I suggest that someone from the E.A. Ministry might go through these papers and photographs and advise us about them. This will not take much time.

149. Note to N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt, 31 December 1959.

If the I.&B. Ministry Publications Division is prepared to undertake to publish these, well and good. If not, our Ministry might sponsor their publication without committing ourselves as to what the particular statements might be in the books. Bhikku Chaman Lal does not want any royalty or any payment.

There is his old proposal about a film on Japan, showing the old Indian contacts. I have no particular objection to this, but I do not attach particular importance to his proposal. Chaman Lal deposited some securities for Rs. 25,000/- with me for some public purpose. He is prepared to spend this money over this film, but the film is likely to cost probably Rs.40,000 or more.

Chaman Lal has shown me a large number of books for children which he has brought from Indonesia. These are in the Indonesian bhasha. All these books contain stories from Mahabharata, Ramayana and other old Indian stories and traditions. These stories are given in hundreds or thousands of small pictures like comic strips. I should imagine that some such book should be produced in India. The attention of the Education Ministry should be drawn to them.

126. To B.V. Keskar: Bhikku Chaman Lal's Archival Collections¹⁵⁰

December 31, 1959

My dear Keskar,

Bhikku Chaman Lal has shown me some very interesting material, including lots of papers and photographs about the Gypsies in Europe and America indicating the original contacts with India. He has also shown me separately papers and photographs etc. about the Maoris in New Zealand. Here also it is surprising to find how many contacts in language and customs etc. there are with India. I have looked through these papers and am rather impressed by them. I think that it might be worthwhile for us to undertake publishing these two books, after of course examining the material fully.

Chaman Lal has also brought a large number of children's books from Indonesia giving stories from Mahabharata and Ramayana in pictures. I wish we could do something on those lines.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

150. Letter to the Minister for Information and Broadcasting.

(h) Tagore Centenary

127. To S.K. Patil: Tagore Centenary Fund¹⁵¹

December 15, 1959

My dear SK,

Ghanshyamdas Birla came to see me today to talk to me about the Tagore Centenary Fund. The actual date of the Centenary is still about a year and six months hence, but obviously we have to make an effort from now onwards.

He had various suggestions to make about the formation of committees and the like. I did not myself see the necessity of forming new committees and I told him so. There is already a committee of which I am Chairman and, I think, Dr Radhakrishnan, Dr B.C. Roy, C.D. Deshmukh and four or five others are members. Humayun Kabir is the Secretary of the Committee. Birla then suggested that perhaps some additions could be made to this committee. I told him this was quite possible.

He wanted me specially to speak or write to you on this subject so that you might be able to help him in this matter of the Tagore Centenary Fund. I told him that you will of course help him without any urge from me. However, since he so wished it, I am writing to you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

128. To Humayun Kabir: Birla Helps in Collection of Funds¹⁵²

December 15, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 15th December about the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Committee's decisions. I do not quite understand what you have written. Is it your view that, according to our decision, 25 percent of the Central Fund, that is, 25 percent of 25 percent of the total collections, will go to Visva-Bharati? That means that only 6¼% of the total collections will go to Visva-Bharati. This is not my recollection of our decision. Anyhow, it seems to me not a happy distribution.

151. Letter.

152. Letter.

Ghanshyamdas Birla came to see me this morning and he said that he would gladly help these collections. For this purpose he suggested that a few other names might be added to the Committee. I told him that this would be easily possible.

Another point he raised was about the distribution of the money collected. He said that most of the money would be frittered away if it is spread out in various states and Visva-Bharati would not be put on a suitable foundation. He suggested, therefore, that all the collections he might make should be sent to Visva-Bharati. I told him that I could not change the decisions that had been made, but I suppose it would be open to anyone to earmark his donation as he likes.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

129. To B.C. Roy: Mobilising Funds¹⁵³

December 15, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Ghanshyamdas Birla came to see me today to discuss with me what steps might be taken to collect money for the Tagore Centenary Fund. I had not myself approached him in this matter, but when someone else spoke to him and mentioned this to me, I wrote a short letter to him expressing my gratification that he was taking interest in this Centenary Fund.

Birla had various suggestions to make about forming committees and the like. I told him that we have already a committee, although it had not done very much in the way of collections yet. He then suggested that perhaps some additional names might be added to that committee. I suppose this can be done.

He asked me to write to you and suggest to you that you might give him such help as you think proper in regard to these Tagore Centenary collections. I told him that you were greatly interested in it yourself and did not require a letter from me for this purpose. However, since he so wished it, I am writing to you.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

130. To G.D. Birla: Revising Membership of Central Committee¹⁵⁴

December 16, 1959

My dear Ghanshyamdasji,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th December.

I think there will be no difficulty in adding a few names to our Central Committee for the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Fund. This will have to be decided by the Committee itself at a meeting, but probably it will be better not to add too many names to it as it is a small Committee. Your name should certainly be in it.

I shall consult Dr. Radhakrishnan for a suitable date for a meeting of the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

131. To Humayun Kabir: Centenary Fund Committee¹⁵⁵

December 16, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of December 16 about the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Fund Committee.

I think it is desirable to hold a meeting of the Central Committee to make clear what exactly we are aiming at. This is all the more necessary because of the proposal made by Ghanshyamdas Birla for the addition of some names to that Committee.

I have received a letter from Birla. I enclose this as well as a copy of my reply.¹⁵⁶

You might consult Dr. Radhakrishnan about a suitable date for a meeting of the Committee. Perhaps we could have it at the beginning of January.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

154. Letter.

155. Letter.

156. See item 130.

(i) Health

132. To D.P. Karmarkar: Toxic Penicillin¹⁵⁷

December 7, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

The other day you spoke to me on the telephone about the tests made at the Pimpri factory.¹⁵⁸ From what you told me it appeared that three tests failed, but the fourth was reported to be successful. This, of course, was not proper. I have now heard from the Managing Director of Hindustan Antibiotics and you may have also heard from him. According to this, he has gone into this matter and the information supplied to you was baseless and that the tests were carried out properly from the very beginning and this batch of penicillin was non-toxic.

I think you might send for Khadilkar, Chaman Lal and any other person interested and inform them of this.

I presume that the people from the Lucknow and Calcutta institutes have come here and taken samples of their choice. As soon as we get their report we can make a further statement in the House.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

133. To K.N. Katju: Drinking Water¹⁵⁹

December 31, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of 28th December. I entirely agree with you that the supply of drinking water should be given top most priority. You suggest some 15 crores for this purpose. I do not quite know how these schemes are worked out. I have an idea that all our methods of doing the simplest things are cumbrous and expensive. You will appreciate that 15 crores for this purpose for Madhya Pradesh would mean something like a 100 crores for the whole of India.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

157. Letter.

158. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 468-469.

159. Letter. File No. 17(95)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

(j) Science and Technology

134. To Sri Prakasa: Honorary Degree for Niels Bohr¹⁶⁰

December 1, 1959

My dear Prakasa,

I wrote to you the other day about Neils Bohr,¹⁶¹ the scientist, coming to Bombay for the Science Congress early in January. I suggested that he and his wife might stay at Raj Bhavan.

It would be in the fitness of things if the Bombay University gave him an honorary degree. He is practically the doyen of scientists in the world today. I hope it will be possible to arrange this.

He is due to reach Bombay on the 3rd January at 2.45 p.m. On the 6th January, he is leaving for Aurangabad, returning on the 7th afternoon. I think he is likely to stay on till the 11th January.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

135. To Padmaja Naidu: Niels Bohr's Visit to Bengal¹⁶²

December 1, 1959

[Bebbee dear,]

I suppose you have heard of Neils Bohr, the famous scientist. He is almost the father of Atomic Energy and is greatly respected throughout the scientific world. He is a Norwegian. We have been inviting him to come to India for several years, but he could not manage it. He is now coming to attend the Science Congress in Bombay early in January. After that he will go to various places in the South and ultimately reach Calcutta on the 15th January at 9.00 p.m. He will remain in Calcutta till the 20th when he leaves for Delhi. During his stay in Calcutta, he will spend most of his time with scientists and educationists. He will be visiting Mahalanobis' Indian Statistical Institute and the Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics. Also the Calcutta University.

160. Letter to the Governor of Bombay. File No. 17(334)/59-60-PMS.

161. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 471.

162. Letter to the Governor of West Bengal.

I am merely writing to you to suggest that you might invite him and his wife to stay at Raj Bhavan. He is a charming man. The Norwegian Government, in order to honour him, have placed an old small palace for him to live in.

[Jawahar]

136. To Bisnuram Medhi: Niels Bohr's Visit to Madras¹⁶³

December 1, 1959

My dear Medhi,

A very famous and eminent scientist, Neils Bohr, who is a Norwegian, will be coming to India as our guest early in January with his wife. He is an oldish man and is considered the doyen of scientists. He is going to Madras for a three or four days' stay. According to his programme, he reaches Madras on the 12th January at 10.10 a.m. and leaves at 5.30 p.m. on the 15th January for Calcutta. During his stay in Madras, he will be meeting scientists of the Madras University, especially physicists. He will also visit Mahabalipuram and Kanchivaram.

I am writing to you to request you to invite him and his wife to stay at Raj Bhavan.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

137. To Padmaja Naidu: Calcutta University Degree for Niels Bohr¹⁶⁴

Maithon

December 6, 1959

[Bebbee dear,]

Bidhan gave me your letter here. If you want to write to Professor Neils Bohr inviting him, I suppose the best course would be for you to send a letter to Professor M.S. Thacker who is arranging his visit and tour. He will send it on.

163. Letter to the Governor of Madras.

164. Letter.

It will certainly be a good thing for the Calcutta University to give him an honorary degree. The University cannot find a more deserving person for such an honour. I suggest that Sidhanta¹⁶⁵ might write to Thacker about it.

[Jawahar]

138. To Homi J. Bhabha: Indo-US Atomic Energy Cooperation¹⁶⁶

December 13, 1959

My dear Homi,

I received your note on cooperation between the Indian and United States Atomic Energy Commissions and read it.¹⁶⁷ I spoke about this matter to President Eisenhower this evening. He reacted favourably to the general proposition. Naturally, he could not say anything definite.

He told me that he had no idea that we had made good progress in atomic energy. I mentioned to him that one of the members of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, Graham,¹⁶⁸ had recently visited our establishments and had been much impressed by them.

Eisenhower said that he had appointed a very good man as Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, a man of the name of, I think, Mccohen (I am not sure of the name). He will speak about this matter to Mccohen and ask him to send some of his colleagues to India to see what we are doing and discuss these matters with our experts.

I thought this was quite enough and I did not wish to press the matter anymore.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

165. N. K. Sidhanta, Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University.

166. Letter. File No. 17(278)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

167. See Appendix 7.

168. John S. Graham, Commissioner, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

139. In the Lok Sabha: Atomic Energy¹⁶⁹

Question:¹⁷⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 1255 on the 9th September, 1959, and state:

- (a) whether any progress has been made in the establishment of the first Atomic Power Station;
- (b) if so, when and where it will be set up; and
- (c) what will be its cost and capacity to generate power?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). Considerable progress has been made in the matter of site selection for the proposed atomic power station. However, before a final decision about the site can be taken, a number of investigations such as hydrographic surveys, aerial surveys, sub-soil investigations etc. have to be completed and the economic assessment of developing the alternative sites would have to be made. This work is in progress and it is expected that a final decision on the site would be taken by March 1960.

(c) The earlier decision with regard to the capacity was that it would be 250,000 KW with only one reactor supplying the whole of this power. The question whether the station should consist of one 250 MW reactor unit or two 150 MW reactor units is under examination.

The final decision is expected to be taken very soon in consultation with the Planning Commission.

The earlier estimated cost of Rs.1700 per kw of installed capacity is still expected to hold good.

D.C. Sharma: May I know how long it will take for this station to function after the site has been selected and the reactors and other things have been put up?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not say exactly; I imagine about three years.

Hem Barua: May I know whether Government propose to invite any foreign collaboration for this proposed atomic power station and if so, what is the proposed component of the foreign collaboration?

169. Oral answers, 18 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 5827-5830.

170. By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma, N. Keshava, Rameshwar Tantia and S.A. Mehdi.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite know what type of foreign collaboration the hon. Member is thinking it terms of. But we are receiving cooperative help in various ways in regard to the development of atomic energy from a number of countries—the United Kingdom, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. But that is, of course, general. Specifically about a particular plant, I cannot say at this stage.

T.B. Vittal Rao: Originally it was planned to establish the atomic power station somewhere between Cambay and Ahmedabad. May I know why alternative sites are taken into consideration now, in view of the fact that the original selection was made because it was far away from the fuel resources and coal-mining areas?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No original selection was finally made at any time. Various sites have been mentioned and among them the sites which the hon. Member has referred to. But that has not been finalized. Also, there may be the question of erecting more than one atomic power station.

Goray: In view of the fact that in England, they are having second thoughts about developing power from atomic stations, is this decision likely to be revised or changed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact, we considered it again and again and only very recently the whole matter was discussed very fully abroad in some conference on atomic energy in England and America. It was found that putting up an atomic power station in India was roughly 20 per cent cheaper than in the western countries because of costs etc. The actual cost of the electric power would be comparable to the present; it just depends on how far you put it. If you put up such a station at Jharia, it will be very expensive because coal is there. But if you put it up in the large tracts of Rajasthan or in Western India, then it becomes competitive. It should be remembered also that this is the present position. It goes on improving. From our point of view, it is important that we should start, so that we may gain experience in course of time. Otherwise, we will be left behind at a later stage.

Palaniyandy:¹⁷¹ Do Government have any proposal to have any atomic station in the southern region, as in Madras?

Mr. Speaker: They are all being considered.

Goray: May I know whether this power station would be of the breeder type or some other type creating its own fuel?

T.B.Vittal Rao: Or the swimming pool type?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That comes at a later stage. I believe. You have to start with some fuel which has been already obtained from somewhere. Later on it starts generating its own fuel.

Tangamani: May I know whether Government has made any estimate of the foreign exchange component that will be necessary for importing machinery for this station?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, very detailed estimates have been made. As a matter of fact, Dr. Bhabha, in his address to the Members of Parliament, has gone into the matter. I am sorry I cannot keep all these figures in my mind. But the real foreign exchange component is the fuel element which we have to obtain to begin with from outside.

N. R. Muniswamy: While expanding the atomic power stations, has the Government an eye on the necessary requirements of thorium and uranium?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That, of course, is a very basic thing to be kept in mind.

(k) Architecture and Town Planning

140. To D.P. Karmarakar and K.C. Reddy: Cooperative Building Society¹⁷²

December 1, 1959

N.R. Pillai, Secretary-General and Ashok Chanda, Comptroller & Auditor-General came to see me a few days ago and spoke to me about a cooperative building society in which they had been personally interested. They gave me

172. Letter. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS.

an account of what happened. I asked them to send me a note on the facts. Thereafter, they sent me a note, a copy of which I enclose. It seems to me that there is much substance in what they have said. I do not understand why there should be any delay in this matter. The point they raise appears to be reasonable.

Will you please look into this matter and let me know where the difficulty is in finalizing it?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

141. To D.P. Karmarkar: Maharani Bagh in New Delhi¹⁷³

December 17, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I wrote to you some time ago, sending you a copy of a note which I had received from N.R. Pillai and Ashok Chanda about some land for the Maharani Bagh Cooperative House Building Society.¹⁷⁴ I have had no answer from you. Meanwhile, I have received a letter from K.C. Reddy, a copy of which I enclose.

I do not understand why these simple matters should be hung up for many months. If there is any difficulty about it, it should be dealt with forthwith by a small conference. It does us little credit to delay decisions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

142. To D.P. Karmarkar: Cooperative Building Societies¹⁷⁵

December 21, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I have at last received your reply to my letter of the 1st December about the size of plots to be awarded to members of cooperative building societies. Your reply does not deal with some of the points that I had raised in my letter and the long

173. Letter.

174. See item 140.

175. Letter. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

delay that had taken place in coming to a decision. K. C. Reddy wrote to me soon after I wrote to him and was evidently of a different opinion from that of your Ministry.

I think that since there appears to be considerable difference of opinion, this matter should be brought up before Cabinet. I do not quite know who is to bring it up—your Ministry or K. C. Reddy's. Anyhow, I am writing to K.C. Reddy about it.

It disturbs me that simple matters should be hung up for so long. Where two or more Ministries differ, the obvious thing is for the matter to be referred to the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. To K.C. Reddy: Cooperative Building Societies¹⁷⁶

December 21, 1959

My dear Reddy,

You will remember my writing to you about the size of plots to be awarded to members of coo-perative building societies in Delhi. You replied to me and said that you had no objection to plots being given to N.R. Pillai and Ashok Chanda on some basis. I am not particularly interested in the exact size of plots, but I am interested that the work of our Government should be done with speed and should not create a feeling of frustration in other people. I have found that N.R. Pillai and Ashok Chanda have been at this matter for many months without getting any results. This must be put an end to.

When I wrote to you on this subject, I wrote to Karmarkar also. He has only now replied to me. I enclose his letter in original and a copy of my reply to him.

Will you please take very early steps to have this matter put up before the Cabinet?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

176. Letter. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

144. To Humayun Kabir: Maintaining Gardens at Monuments¹⁷⁷

December 29, 1959

My dear Humayun, The other day I went to Agra with President Eisenhower and visited the Taj.¹⁷⁸ I found the Taj gardens in better condition than they were previously. The fountains were working also. There used to be some trouble with the water supply and rather expensive schemes had been drawn up for this purpose. Now by the use of a fairly simple device, water is available for the garden and the fountains are working. The man in charge appeared to me competent. I understood that he had received some training at the National Botanical Gardens at Lucknow.

I mentioned this matter to Kaul, the Director of the National Botanical Gardens at Lucknow. He said that, generally speaking, the gardens attached to our archaeological monuments were not properly looked after partly because the men in charge while good from the point of view of the monuments had no special experience of gardens. Thus a place like Mandu could be made into a delightful garden. At present it is far from being a garden at all.

He suggested that if the National Botanical Gardens were given some kind of technical supervisory charge of the gardens they could give their advice from time to time and see how it was carried out. This would not involve any extra expenditure of note, no fresh staff; only some petty expenditure perhaps in connection with seeds and possibly some small implements and perhaps TA for someone to go and see occasionally.

I have an idea that the man in charge of the Taj gardens is to some extent also in charge of these other gardens. That is good. If he is asked to keep in touch with the National Botanical Gardens in Lucknow and the latter are asked to give their general supervision, that would be adequate and these archaeological monuments would then have their surroundings improved very considerably.

If you agree, you might mention this to Thacker.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

177. Letter. File No. 27(50)/59-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

178. On December 13, 1959.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) General

145. To Lord Shawcross: International Jurists' Commission on Tibet¹

December 5, 1959

Dear Lord Shawcross,

I am sorry that owing to pressure of work I could not send you an earlier reply to your letter of October 27. I read it with interest and thank you for it.

I have no idea of what the Committee set up by the International Commission of Jurists is doing now, and indeed where it is. I entirely agree with you that the Committee's labour would not help the Tibetans in any practical manner. However, the Government of India did not want to interfere with the work of a Committee which has been set up by the Commission of Jurists, and we have, therefore, left it to its own resources without any cooperation from us. There is not much public interest in India in the work of the Committee.

I shall be happy to meet you in India any time you find it possible to pay us a visit.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

146. To Izchak Ziv-Av: Explaining India²

December 8, 1959

Dear Mr. Izchak [Itzhak] Ziv-Av,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th December.³ I am afraid I can find no time to send you any kind of a note on the subject you have mentioned, even though it interests me much. I am very heavily occupied not only now, but in the foreseeable future.

1. Letter to a Member of the Executive Committee, International Commission of Jurists.
2. Letter to the Director General of the Israel Farmers Federation. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
3. Ziv-Av was working on a literary piece on India and wished to capture the essence of a nascent and young country. In particular, he wished to refute claims made by Europeans who concluded, that much of what was happening in India was rhetorical than practical. He sought Nehru's opinion on the matter.

In a big country like India, it is always easy to justify any theory or hypothesis. One can always find a number of examples in justification. There is a great deal of good in India and a great deal of bad. The point is to find out what are the moving forces and urges and in which direction a country or a people are going.

We find in India a traditional society, with all its restrictions and limitations, trying to uplift itself up, almost entirely by its own labours, to the stage of a modern society from the scientific and technological point of view. This is an enormous task, not only because of the deep roots in a traditional past, but also because of the vast numbers involved.

Personally I feel and believe that this process of lifting up is going on with some speed, I have no doubt that even our peasantry is changing and moving up. But old habits die hard and, more particularly, the old system of Government, which was entirely from the top and gave no chance of developing initiative, comes very much in the way. We are now taking a brave step to transfer a great deal of authority, with resources, to our Village Councils. That is already bringing about a marked change. Also, of course, the industrialisation that is going on is changing this traditional society.

Naturally, I would like these changes to be faster. But I think that any impartial observer would realise that the changes are coming at a fair pace. The worst place to judge of these changes is among some of our middleclass folk who criticise others without doing much themselves. And yet, at the same time, it is the middle-class which becomes a dynamic element through scientists, engineers, technicians and the like.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

147. In the Rajya Sabha: U.N. Economic and Social Council⁴

Bhupesh Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that India recently contested any seats in the United Nations' Economic and Social Council and was defeated in the election?

4. Written answers, 9 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, col. 1957.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): India was not actually defeated in the recent Economic and Social Council election. She withdrew her candidature in favour of Japan after six inconclusive ballots.⁵

148. To Subimal Dutt: Invitation from Belgrade⁶

It is true that there is every chance of my going to London for the Prime Ministers' Conference early in May. Normally, I utilise such occasions to visit some other countries. Much would depend on the situation then existing. Even if I can spare a few days, there are so many countries on my list that it will not be possible for me to visit all of them, or many. There is Africa, of course, to begin with, some of the Western African countries like Ghana and Nigeria. South America, I am ruling out as it does not seem feasible, even though I want to go there very much. There is Morocco and Egypt.

2. In Europe, I have had rather a vague message from President de Gaulle to visit Paris, and I have had invitations from Turkey⁷, Greece and Yugoslavia, not to mention Rumania.

3. All that I can say in reply to the message from Belgrade is that I am always happy to visit Yugoslavia and to meet President Tito and I should much like to do so, but it is not possible for me at present to be more definite because of the developing situation in India.

149. To the London *Sunday Times*: Message on International Relations⁸

In this rapidly changing world, it is difficult to forecast what might happen even within ten years. I do not think that there will be a major war. Tensions will continue, but will progressively lessen as a result of the efforts being made by the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. Nuclear tests will be abandoned and progressively disarmament will take place.

More attention will be directed towards development of the under-developed nations as it will be realised that this is essential for world peace and prosperity.

5. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 476.

6. Note, 11 December 1959.

7. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 573-574.

8. 19 December 1959.

The countries of Africa will play a more important part as more of them gain independence.

China will develop considerably and will be a great power. Her vast population growing rapidly will pose new and difficult problems.

Scientific and technological progress will continue at a swift pace changing the way people live and making old political and economic theories rather out-of-date.

150. To MEA: Yadavendra Singh on the FAO Conference⁹

The Maharaja of Patiala¹⁰ came to see me this evening and told me about his experiences of the F.A.O. Conference and the other places he visited.

2. He said that our public relations at the F.A.O. Conference were exceedingly bad, while Pakistan's were good. The Pakistan Commercial Attaché at Rome was in charge of them. Our Commercial Attaché, Mr. Z.A. Christie, was, according to the Maharaja, quite hopeless.

3. The Japanese worked quietly and efficiently. Most Asian countries had been won over by the Japanese to begin with and were vaguely against India. Some of them even preferred Pakistan. But the Arab groups were solidly for India, except Tunisia which was uncertain and doubtful.

4. The Europeans were divided according to their economic groupings. The countries most helpful to us were France, Italy and Yugoslavia.

5. The Latin Americans were divided among themselves and there was much indecision. Mexico and Argentina were not friendly to us. The Mexican delegate behaved oddly and rather aggressively. Brazil, on the other hand, was good and friendly to India. It was the Brazilian delegate (Castro) who ultimately got round the Latin American group to support India. Broadly speaking, the Latin Americans were not dominated by the U.S.

6. The U.S.A. began by being opposed to B.R. Sen's re-election,¹¹ especially for a four year term. They even did some propaganda. Canada and New Zealand also were against us, but all these three countries, when they discovered that the majority was for us, gave up their opposition. Three countries abstained at the secret voting. Probably these three countries were Pakistan, Canada and Mexico.

9. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt and M.J. Desai, 21 December 1959.

10. Yadavendra Singh.

11. As Director-General of FAO.

7. The Maharaja said that he had had experiences now of UNO, UNESCO and FAO delegations. He would not say anything about U.N., but both UNESCO and FAO delegations from India suffered greatly from lack of funds for entertainment. The amounts given for entertainment were much too small. It is not realised here that a great deal of work in these places is done through entertainment.

8. The Maharaja emphasised that there should be some continuity of the personnel going on these delegations. If there is this continuity, people know each other and can function effectively. If new persons go again and again, they have no contacts and take a long time in developing them.

9. He pointed out that we lost in the election for the Programme Committee of F.A.O. simply because we put up Damle¹² who was not present. We might probably have got this seat if someone whom the delegates there could know and see had been put up.

10. The Maharaja then went to Cairo. He was apparently invited by the Egyptian delegate to F.A.O. They were very kind and hospitable to him in Cairo.

11. The Maharaja said that when the Maharaja of Jaipur was in Cairo (probably he had taken a Polo team there), he had invited the Egyptian Polo Team to India. But this proposal was dropped later on and the Egyptians were greatly disappointed as they were keen on coming to India with their Polo team. The Maharaja of Patiala strongly recommended that we might invite their Polo team here. This would cost us about Rs.30,000 or so which was not very much.

12. The Egyptian people wanted a pair of young tigers for their zoo. He suggested that we might give these two tigers to President Nasser when he comes to India.

13. Nairobi. The Sikhs in Kenya gave the Maharaja a tremendous welcome.

14. The Indians in Kenya were not very popular. They inclined slightly towards the European there and this irritated the Africans. Also, some of the Indians there, newly rich, made a vulgar display of their riches. The Maharaja impressed upon the Sikhs and others he saw there, to throw their lot with the Africans.

15. He suggested that we should invite two prominent African leaders from Kenya to India and show them round here. These two were Dr. J.G. Kiano and Oginga Odinga.¹³

12. K.R. Damle, Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

13. Kenyan politician and Member of the Legislative Council.

151. To MEA: International Conference in India¹⁴

I do not know if you have seen this paper. On the merits, of course, we should have no objection to inviting this Conference to India for their 1963-64 session.¹⁵ The only question is about some countries, namely, Taiwan, Portugal, South Africa and Israel.

We have been having any number of conferences here to which some of these countries have been invited. Only a few days ago there was a conference at Vigyan Bhavan and among those persons introduced to me was a representative from Taiwan.

I am inclined to think that we should agree to invite this Conference. It is after all four years from now and anything may happen in these four years. Even if nothing new happens, are we to avoid in future all international conferences because of the presence of some country whom we do not recognise or do not appreciate?

I should like your advice in this. In any event, the matter might go up to the Cabinet for them to consider.

152. To Chandralekha Mehta: Recent Events¹⁶

December 21, 1959

[My dear Chand,]

I received your letter a few days ago and was happy to get it. Your leaving us made us all feel somewhat lonely. A few days later Tara arrived with her children and now there is more liveliness about the house. I think you told me that you would be coming back here sometime next month. We miss the children here and especially Manju.

Whatever kind of welcome he may have had in Pakistan, Eisenhower was quite bowled over by Delhi. Indeed he got a tremendous welcome surpassing our past records. He has been deeply moved by it. Soon after his departure, we had the Prime Minister of Sweden and his wife. They only left this morning for Agra and other places. They are a charming couple and I liked them very much, partly, of course, this is due to our agreeing on a large number of questions. He delivered some good speeches full of substance here.

14. Note to S. Dutt and N.R. Pillai, 21 December 1959.

15. See Appendix 14.

16. Letter to Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan.

These last few weeks or months have been a bit of an ordeal for me. In a sense I was looking forward to the Parliament Session ending, which it does tomorrow. At the last moment they have fixed two debates tomorrow in the two Houses on China etc. Day after tomorrow morning I go to Santiniketan, coming back via Allahabad on the 27th.

It seems to me that President Ayub Khan is annoyed at something or other. His recent speeches about India have been those of an angry man. Perhaps he is disappointed at Eisenhower's visit.

We have got a very big Agriculture Fair here now, the biggest pavilions there are the American—Amriki Mela—and the Soviet, though the Chinese pavilion is, I am told, also big. When you come here, you will be able to see the exhibition. It will last some two or three months.

Love to Ashok and you and the children.

[Yours,
Mamu]

153. To Subimal Dutt: Poor News Reporting¹⁷

I think that someone connected with our publicity in the EA should send for the Editor of the Delhi Times and tell him that we are surprised at his publishing such articles which run down a friendly country. Further, that we do not know how he gets his news which is not at all correct. So far as we know, he has no correspondent in Damascus and so we should particularly like to know what his sources of information are. Evidently, those sources are not reliable. In any event, we do not at all approve of any friendly country being run down in this way.

17. Note, 27 December 1959.

154. To Asoke Sen: Radhabinod Pal for the World Court¹⁸

December 31, 1959

My dear Asoke,

We have been giving some thought to the question of choosing our nominee for the World Court. You will remember that I spoke to you about this and a few names were mentioned. I think, and Pantji agrees with me, that Dr. Radhabinod Pal might be a more suitable name. He will also have the best chance of being elected as he is well known in international circles.

I was not quite sure about his present health. So I made enquiries from people in Calcutta. We are informed that he is quite fit and in fact is doing various kinds of work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) China**155. To MEA: Meeting with Ajoy Ghosh¹⁹**

Ajoy Ghosh, Secretary of the Communist Party of India, came to see me this morning. He began by saying that he wanted to explain the object of his visit to Peking. It was quite wrong for anyone to think that he had gone there to seek guidance from the Chinese leaders. Naturally, he and his colleagues were keenly desirous of good relations between India and China.

2. He found that the Chinese leaders were singularly ignorant of the strength of feeling in India against China over the recent troubles. The Chinese leaders thought that only a small group of intellectuals was doing the shouting against China. Ajoy Ghosh disabused them about this matter and told them how strong the feeling was in India among all classes and groups.

3. He said that Chairman Mao gave him definitely to understand that he was anxious for peaceful relations between India and China. He was also told that the Chinese had no territorial ambitions in India, but as a matter of principle they could not apparently give up what they considered to be their rights. These

18. Letter. Copied to S. Dutt with letter from K.K. Hajara to S. Dutt dated 5 December 1959.

19. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt and M.J. Desai, 5 December 1959.

[Chinese come Calling]

Only On A Social Visit



The C.P.I. has accepted the McMahon Line as the Indian frontier but ignored the fact of Chinese aggression.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 22 NOVEMBER 1959

SEEING GHOS(H)TS



The C.P.I. has expressed its fear of the growing Right reaction.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 22 NOVEMBER 1959

talks took place before the recent Ladakh incident and were mainly concerned therefore with the McMahon Line area.

4. When he went to Moscow, he found that the Russians were much disturbed at these developments between India and China and did not wholly approve of the policy of the Chinese Government. Even during the visit of Mr Khrushchev to China during the National Day celebrations there, this was to some extent evident.

5. He then referred to the Communist Party of India and said that there were various view-points in this also and the Bengal group was more extreme. But he hoped that these differences would be ironed out.

6. He referred to the apprehension of the Bengal group that they might be put under ban.²⁰ Ajoy Ghosh said that it was hardly likely that a part of the Communist Party would be banned.

7. He then complained of various attacks on communists and Communist Party offices in recent days. He gave me a paper which consists of extracts from newspapers about such attacks.

8. I listened to him chiefly and did not say much.

156. In the Rajya Sabha: India-China Relations²¹

Mr. Chairman: I have to inform Members that under rule 153 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I have allotted seven hours for the discussion of the Government motion regarding India-China Relations, from 12-00 o'clock to 6-00 P.M. today and tomorrow from 11-00 A.M. to 12-00 o'clock. We meet tomorrow at 10-00 A.M. and the House will adjourn at 4-00 P.M. Instead of from 11-00 A.M. to 5-00 P.M. it will be from 10-00 A.M. to 4-00 P.M. tomorrow.

The Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): I beg to move, Sir:

"That White Paper No. II and subsequent correspondence between the Governments of India and China, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 23rd November, 1959, be taken into consideration".

20. At a public meeting in Hazra Park on 15 November 1959, the Jan Sangh suggested that the CPI be banned and its members socially boycotted. See *Hindusthan Standard*, 16 November 1959.

21. Motion, 8 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 1705-1722.

Almost exactly three months ago, Sir, there was a debate in this House on the difficulties and conflicts that had arisen on our border, the border between India and China. Since that debate, there has been a serious incident in Ladakh about which the House knows fully. After that there has been some correspondence with the Chinese Prime Minister and the Government of China. All this has been placed on the Table of the House. The Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, made certain suggestions to our Government in a letter dated the 7th November.²² On the 16th of November I sent him a reply²³ putting forward certain proposals—interim proposals. The whole object was that before any further step could be taken to find a way out, there should be some interim arrangement to prevent any conflicts on the border. Now, that letter of mine was sent on the 16th November, and we have received no answer to that yet. In effect, therefore, there has been no major development since this exchange of correspondence. Our Government has received a letter from the Chinese authorities in answer to a previous letter. This relates to the treatment of prisoners after the Ladakh incident. We had complained of the ill-treatment of these prisoners and in their reply they broadly said that this was not true and that they were treated as well as could be expected in the circumstances there. That is how the matter stands so far as the correspondence, etc. is concerned.

Now, Sir, after the last debate that we had here, chiefly because of the Ladakh incident and partly because of other developments, there has been a worsening of the situation, and I might say, both actually and in the public mind, and it is natural that there should be this strong public feeling when such things happen on our border and a neighbouring country intrudes and pushes into our areas or areas that have been in our possession for a long time. The questions that arise today for the consideration of this House are broadly two—of course, there are off-shoots of these questions. One is, this House might again consider and give its opinion and advice as to the broad policies that we should follow and secondly, what steps should be taken in the implementation of these policies. On the last occasion, much was said by other members and by me about these broad policies. Now, it is important, first of all, that this House should give its clear directions about these policies, because after all the steps that we take or follow are the results of those policies. If the policies are not agreed to, then naturally the steps may also not fit in. It is important, therefore, that there should be this clarity of thinking. The situation that has arisen is one of great difficulty and complexity and a situation in which passions—public

22. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 663-666.

23. See SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

passions—are roused, quite naturally, and it becomes all the more necessary, when such strong feelings are roused, that there should be calm and clear thinking as to the broad policies and in regard to their implementation. The implementation indeed has many aspects. One is the purely military aspect, others connected with it, and yet, another aspect and a very important aspect is ultimately how we build up the country's strength for the purposes of defence. Now, in regard to the broad policies, Sir, we have followed, as the House well knows, a policy in foreign affairs of what is called non-alignment or to put it in another way, of not tying ourselves with any military arrangement or bloc, and trying to be friendly with all nations with whose policies we may or may not agree. We follow that and we have raised our voice whenever we could in the councils of the nations in favour of the policy of peace and against the continuation of the cold war mentality which automatically leads to a worsening of the situation everywhere. It is a curious paradox that today when we are facing certain grave dangers on our own borders, that the very policy for which we have stood for so long is meeting with a large measure of success in the important centres of the world and that apart from perhaps a few lone voices, broadly speaking, the world is moving towards an attempt to put an end to this cold-war and, possibly, even to these military blocs ultimately.

I do submit, Sir that the broad policy we have pursued in the past has been a correct policy and is a correct policy today. A policy of non-alignment or a policy of peaceful co-existence, or Panch Sheel, call it what you like, is not a policy which is followed regardless of changing circumstances; the policy remains but it is adapted to changing circumstances. I say this, I repeat this and I have said it previously too, because some hon. Members on the last occasion had stated that this policy of non-alignment or peaceful co-existence, had collapsed, had failed, I think that, while it is true that in so far as our relations with China are concerned, that policy has not succeeded, i.e., in the sense that our relations with China are not the embodiment of peace at the present moment so far as our thinking and our actions are concerned. What are the reasons, we may seek for them, and according to our thinking, the fault lies with many things that the Chinese Government have done, with a certain expansive, aggressive attitude that they have adopted and the actual fact that they have intruded on our territory. Therefore, that policy has to be met, that action has to be met. But that has little relation to the basic policies that we pursue. I say this because, presumably, some people imagine that this has been the result of that policy. That, of course, is, I would submit, completely wrong. In fact, the big fact of the modern world today is the success, the world-wide success, of the policy that this country has ventured to put forward and tried to pursue. I would repeat this because I should like clear thinking on this issue and clear directions

because, after all, we in the Government necessarily have to follow policies which are laid down or approved of by Parliament. The ultimate judge is Parliament; if I may say so, the ultimate judge is the people of India represented in Parliament, and we have to take our directions from Parliament and what Parliament decides, that the Government will follow, will pursue, if it finds itself capable of doing so. If not, some other Government takes charge and follows that policy. It is important, therefore, that there should be clear thinking and clear directions on these issues, these broad issues, so also, to some extent, in regard to the implementation thereof, although, obviously, implementation of a policy like this, especially in the military sphere, can hardly be discussed in Parliament. Now, Sir, when we consider the implementation of these policies, there is a purely military aspect of it and there is an aspect of it, which has always to be borne in mind. We see Great Powers today, and unfortunately the greatness of a nation today and, perhaps, previously too, is counted in terms of the armed might of that nation. Other factors come in no doubt but a great power is a power which has a big army, navy, air force, etc. That army, navy, air force etc. today have been built up because that country has a big industrial apparatus, because it is what is called a technologically advanced country. In fact, defence today depends tremendously upon the industrial and technological background of a country. All the world knows it. Therefore, in order to strengthen a country for its defence, the major effort is not in merely enrolling people for the army which, of course, is done in a measure but in building up that technological and industrial background in the country. Otherwise, that country is weak from the military or defence point of view.

Now, not today, but ever since we came into existence as an independent nation twelve years ago, this factor has been before us. If any hon. Member thinks that we had forgotten the question of defence or ignored it in our enthusiasm for Panchsheel, then I would submit that he is mistaken. We may have made many mistakes but the fact of strengthening the country from the defence point of view was always before us. We did not know, and I confess today that I did not expect, that there would be an aggression on the part of China.²⁴ Anyway, it has taken place. But the circumstances being what they were, no Government could ignore the aspect of defence and we came to the conclusion then, as now, that the basic factor in defence is the industrial growth of the country, and all the armies in the world without an industrial background could not function adequately in the matter of modern defence. To some extent our five year plans and the like were based on that, not directly on defence but

24. See SWJN/SS/53/pp. 491 and pp. 492-493.

on building up this industrial background. As the House well knows, in the last few years, more especially since the Second Five Year Plan came into being, greater stress has been laid, on the foundations of industry, that is, basic industries, heavy industries, in the country. It is on them alone that defence can ultimately rest, apart from petty methods of defence. There are other things, of course—communications, roads and other things which are important, but all this follows really the development of heavy industries in a country which not only provide the wherewithal for defence but which are supposed to raise the economy of a country to higher levels, thereby making the country and the people strong, putting them in a stronger position, for any emergencies that they might have to face.

I am stating these rather simple facts because I want this whole question to be considered in that context. A country does not normally go about talking about the steps it takes for defence, partly because one does not want to lay stress on it before the world at large and partly because our stress, our public stress, has always been on peace and will continue to be on peace, but that stress does not mean, cannot mean and should not mean any kind of forgetfulness of the country's basic requirements in regard to defence. Always the question comes up before countries who are in danger or who may want to endanger others. The question has now been put as to whether they should have guns or butter. Well, we have very little butter in this country. As it is, it is difficult enough to resist the temptation to give more butter, of course meaning not butter only but the necessities of life of our country, the necessary amenities of life. But when this test comes, this problem arises—guns or butter. Where a country is industrially advanced, it has got a broad apparatus either to manufacture the good things of life, or guns and warlike equipment. That choice has to be made as it had been more or less made let us say, in Hitler's Germany, and he decided in favour of guns and he got them and fought a great war. In our case that question, guns or butter, arises, not in that same way, because, as it happens, and perhaps fortunately for us, the same thing, the same basis has to be laid, the same foundation has to be laid, whether it is for guns or for butter. The choice really comes after the foundation is laid, as to how to use that foundation for the future, whether to produce consumer goods, let us say, or the amenities of life for our people, or warlike material. Therefore whichever way we proceed in our thinking, we come to the conclusion that both for guns and butter we have to lay, as rapidly and as firmly as we can, these industrial foundations, and that is ultimately heavy industries. Of course that does not mean that other things do not count. Obviously, whether it is for war or for peace, one wants adequate food. It is obvious one cannot fight with an empty stomach or one cannot work hard even for peaceful purposes with an empty

stomach. So what I venture to point out to this House is that that particular choice in that way does not come to us at the present moment even though we are threatened on our borders. The choice as to whether we can give up all progress, that we are envisaging, in favour of fun and guns alone, that would come to us if we decided to give up that building-up process and to rely on guns which we buy or import from abroad within our resources. Of course we can go and buy—to meet a temporary emergency—warlike material and equipment, but thereby we cut short all our planning and the other schemes that we have in view. I hope it will never come to that. In a very small measure, of course, it may come but not in a big measure, because that itself then would be wrong thinking or rather a very short-term thinking. But the kind of crisis that we have to face today is not a short-term crisis—let us realise that. It cannot be, in the nature of things, a short-term crisis, whatever the next developments might be; it is a long-term affair. And whatever way we may think, we cannot ignore certain facts of geography. If we are concerned today with China, and China is concerned about us, well, whatever our feelings may be, India and China are neighbouring countries bordering on each other for thousands of miles. That border is going to continue and the two countries are going to be next to each other not only now but in future ages; neither country is going to run away from that geographical position. Therefore, we have to think in long distance terms also apart from the short-term objectives that we have. The short-term oppresses us, because we have to meet the questions of today and we have to find answers to these questions. Nevertheless I would beg of hon. Members to remember that the short-term leads on to the long-term, and if in approaching the short-term we weaken ourselves in the long-term, that is not a wise policy. There is a tendency sometimes in the public mind, naturally, to think in terms of the short-term, because of powerful reactions, because of anger and the desire to do something quickly and effectively. Well, naturally one has to give adequate importance to this short-term business and take adequate steps. Nevertheless, whether it is in war or in peaceful development, it is the long-term that counts and not the short term as a reaction of strong feelings or anger. Therefore we have to consider this question. In so far as the short-term is concerned, certainly we must, and that becomes largely a question of military strategy, tactics, call it what you will. But the moment we get back to the long-term, which is so important, we have to consider two aspects of it, our broader policies, broader policies in regard to other nations, other nations meaning all nations, and how to strengthen the country basically to face those long-term developments, whatever they might be. Now, in that long-term process one has to realise—I repeat what I have said—that the strength of a nation comes from the technological developments of that nation; everything else is not real strength;

it is some kind of a temporary or limited strength. Of course I need not say about the other factors that are well known—strength comes from discipline and unity, and all that, of course. That is so essential. But apart from those basic qualities that a nation should possess, it comes from the technological progress of a nation, and all the courage in the world does not ultimately take the place of technological progress in the modern world. That fact I should like the House to remember, because we have to make vital choices, basic choices. We cannot merely react to circumstances without thinking of the future results of our reactions. I said also that our future policy includes not merely this business of building up the nation technologically, industrially and otherwise, but in our relationships with other nations our policy has largely been directed towards building up good relationships in the last many years, and I believe it has borne very good fruit so far as we are concerned, good fruit not only in the sphere of friendship, etc., but in more practical domains also. And if it is said, as it is said sometimes, in criticism or disdain, that we talked about Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai and went on talking about it and ignored the realities of the situation, well. I do not know who exactly started this Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai, but whoever did it, did a good thing, because that should be our attitude to every country. If the House will remember, the same Bhai-Bhai business is repeated whoever comes here from any country often enough. Of course, it may be over-done; it may be done at the wrong time and the wrong place, which is irritating, but my point is that the friendly approach is always the right approach, whatever happens. I make no exceptions. To the friendly approach must necessarily be allied the watchful approach, the vigilant approach and a preparations approach. But the moment you lose that approach or desire for friendly settlement, you lose yourself in a forest, in a most dangerous forest where anything may happen, and which is bad both from the national point of view and the international point of view.

Today, of course, there is this development of mighty weapons which we have not got, but which the Western world and Russia have got. We have moved into a new phase of history. We have wars, cold wars, and cold wars have become abominations, which everybody wants to avoid. Therefore, only tomorrow we are going to welcome the great leader of a great nation.²⁵ Why do we welcome him? For many reasons. Not because he is a great leader of a great nation, but fundamentally because he is a messenger of peace today in the world, and the heart of our country, which is so devoted to peace, goes out to him because he comes here with this message on his lips and in his heart. We

25. Nehru is referring to Eisenhower.

have welcomed others too in that spirit. It may be that our ideas or views were not reciprocated from the other side, about peace or about friendship. Would this House advise, therefore, to function in a bellicose manner, aggressively, to show that we are strong and we can talk loudly? That surely is not the sign of strength. Strength comes in other ways.

Now, Sir, this is the background. I want to make it clear—let there be no mistake in the minds of hon. Members here—as to what the motive forces of our action and our basic policies are because we believe firmly that peace is better than war, that war is unutterably bad. Nevertheless, if a country's freedom or its integrity or its honour is attacked, we have to defend it with war, if necessary, and we have to defend it with all our might and we have to prepare for that. In the ultimate analysis we come to the same conclusion either way. But it does make a difference whether the particular mental and other approach is for peace or for war. Now, that is from a larger point of view.

If you look at it from the strictly narrowest point of view of practical affairs, you arrive at the same conclusion. There are certain facts of the modern world which we cannot ignore, and one cannot, therefore, behave in a rather immature and juvenile way of shaking one's fists at everybody and threatening everybody even though that threat may be justified or the fist may be justified. That is one side of the question.

The other and the more practical side, as things are, is our preparation for meeting this contingency, this crisis in an adequate way, with all the strength so that we can gather and increase that strength. That, as I said, is a military problem to some extent to make the best of our strength today and tomorrow, but it means ultimately—and let this be fully realised that it is not a purely military problem—it becomes a problem of utilising every ounce of energy in the nation. It means putting an end to every species of indiscipline that weakens the nation. It means—I use the phrase which I used in the other place—a nation in arms, not in arms going about with a gun in hand of mental and physical arms for the affray, whatever happens. It means many great things that people have not thought of or talked of. It means our fashioning, whatever it is, our Five Year Plans, our budgets, our everything, in a different way. It means austerity and hard living and hardship. I shall not quote the words of a famous Englishman about blood and sweat and tears, but it does mean that blood and sweat and tears to everyone of us if we have to face this contingency. Therefore, let us not do so light-heartedly, but with clarity of thought and firmness of decision and realising that at this moment these petty quarrels and criticisms are singularly out of place even though they might have their place at other times, because I find that curious contradiction in all the people so often, in what they are doing.

I find a contradiction in all our young men who sent me letters written in

drops of blood to offer their lives for the defence of our country, these young men behaving in a manner which would ruin any country if that behaviour went on for some time. It is utter indiscipline. It does not fit in with a crisis. It does not fit in with anything, crisis or not, but certainly at a time of crisis. It shows utter ignorance or misunderstanding of what is happening. So, let us realise what we are in for. We shall work for peace. We shall work for settlements. We are not, I hope, going by a spurt of anger to be compelled to take wrong steps, but we shall work with all our might also for the strengthening of the country, and for the defence of the country.

If there appears to be in the minds of some hon. Members some conflict between the two approaches, I do not agree with them. I do not think there is any real conflict. Both are essential approaches. And if this House or Parliament thinks that these basic approaches are not correct, that some other approach has to be followed, then obviously the will of Parliament must prevail. But Parliament should then find means of enforcing that will or implementing that will. That is broadly the question.

Now, some little time back I mentioned what our responsibilities were apart from the obvious responsibilities of defending India and Indian territory. I mentioned some names of some neighbouring countries. It is undoubtedly true that our responsibilities extend to these neighbouring countries—and it is not in a light hearted manner that I mentioned them which add to the burdens that we carry, heavy as they are, but because those responsibilities were undertaken by us many years ago. We have to stand by them whatever the consequences—our neighbouring countries—Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. Now, each one of them stands on a separate footing and let us not mix them up. Nepal, of course, is an independent country just like India is independent and whatever it chooses to do in the exercise of that independence, we cannot come in the way. But, if I mentioned Nepal on the last occasion, it was because nearly nine years ago, there was a clear understanding between the Governments of Nepal and India on this point. There was no military alliance. It was a clear understanding which was advantageous to both and in order to remove any doubts from hon. Members' minds, I shall read out the words of that understanding. This treaty between India and Nepal, a treaty of peace and friendship, was signed on the 31st July 1950. I shall read the first two articles.

Article 1 states: "That the two Governments agree to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other."

Article 2 says: "That the two Governments hereby undertake to inform

each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations existing between the two Governments.”

Now, apart from this treaty—but it is an essential operative part of that—there was an exchange of letters between the two Governments in identical language, as was the custom. In these letters there is this sentence:

“Neither Government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat, the two Governments shall consult with each other and devise effective counter-measures.”

This was the clear understanding arrived at and therefore I thought it desirable to state that. In fact I was a little surprised that people did not know this. The words may not have been known but the position itself was pretty well known and I want to make it perfectly clear that this understanding has nothing to do with any kind of unilateral action on our part. We cannot do it, we will not do it. We are going to take no step in regard to Nepal or in Nepal. That is for the Government of Nepal to decide but it is in mutual interest it is stated in these letters and the treaty—for us to associate ourselves, first of all in knowledge as to what is happening, and secondly, in the counter measures that might have to be taken. The Prime Minister of Nepal, the other day, said something on this subject and may I say that I entirely agree with his interpretation of this position.

Now for the last many years, we have laboured through five year plans and the like, to build up the prosperity of this country as well as its strength because the two are allied. You cannot separate them, though of course you can lay far greater stress on one aspect than on the other but the base is the same, more or less. One may lay greater stress on arms production and less on such measures as may bring some relief to our people but the foundation is the same. We have arrived at a stage now when some kind of words which have lately come into common use, are often applied to India. That is, we are approaching what is called the “take-off” stage, “take-off” into a more or less modernist economy. Out of traditional economies, we march through various stages into an industrial and technological stage of production etc. It is a very basic stage and stage which, by the very virtue of the fact of our advance, brings all kinds of new problems. The problems that we face in our economic world are evidence of the progress we have made and are making and you will find that type of problem in every country which reaches that stage. When you cross a river, your hardest effort is when you are in the middle of the river facing heavy current, not when you are near one of the banks. That is where we are, and it is recognized, I think, in the greater part of the world that the progress we have made has been rather remarkable. We are not comparing with other countries like China. It

may be, it probably is, that the progress China has made industrially, I mean the rate, is faster and the results are greater. I do not exactly know and I am not prepared to accept that as a fact but we have also, tied up with our industrial and economic progress, certain other conceptions of human dignity, individual freedom and all that and I take it that we are not prepared to give up those conceptions which we value. It is not for me to say what China or some other country might do but it is for us to lay down our own basic conceptions. Now, one has to pay a certain price for these conceptions of human dignity and freedom. In fact those conceptions can only flourish, broadly speaking, in peace time. One of the first things that a war brings is the suppression of much that an individual stands for, and the progressive degradation of the human spirit. That is the result of a war, not only among those who fight but among others because nowadays wars are total wars, affecting every human being. In peace time one may argue about controls and all that. In war time they inevitably clamp down on everything because it is a matter of life and death for the nation. No individual counts, no individual's freedom even counts except within limitation. It is not a good state of affairs. Let us realize that. The two great wars, the World Wars, have undoubtedly brought in a good deal of degradation in human relations, towards violence and hatred and all that. So we have to try to hold to our anchorage and to the ideals we hold and yet make good. That is the basic problem before us and that problem comes up before us at a time when there are new horizons all over the world. We live in an extraordinary and in a most exciting time when these new horizons are opening out, scientifically and otherwise. Old conceptions even, whatever they were—whether they were conceptions of military or other conceptions—are out of date with modern weapons. Economic conceptions are out of date in the modern world, with new forces coming into play. Whether they are conceptions of the capitalist world or communist world, both today are out of date in this new horizon that is opening out and the new horizon that is coming into play.

I am mentioning all this because you have to consider every problem and more especially a grave problem like this, in this wider context of a changing world. We are changing in our own country. We are perhaps not so conscious of that change because we are in the middle of the change. Others see it better but we ought to be able to see the changing world at least and not be led away by old slogans and older concepts because people are in the habit, nations are in the habit, of repeating certain concepts and slogans to which they are used. They go on using the old rhetoric when the reason for that rhetoric is past. So, you find in the world today a great ideological conflict that was taking place between the so-called communist world and the non-communist world still being referred to in brave phrases and words and yet progressively losing its edge.

Countries adapting themselves to the new world when it is growing, go on using the old rhetoric sometimes, if I may respectfully say so, as men of religion sometimes go on using their old rhetoric, whether it is to the point or not. Although they adapt themselves to the new conditions, the words remain the same. So we find it here. Now in this state of affairs, when the world is in a fluid state, changing and new ideas and horizons are opening out, it is a peculiar misfortune that we should be confronted with a situation which threatens military conflict and war. It is not of our seeking, as the world knows. But whether it is of our seeking or not, we have to face it and we have to prepare ourselves for it with all our strength, all the time trying to find peaceful methods of solving all these problems. If those are denied and if those are not available, then there is no choice left and we shall face that. But we shall face that, I hope, even then keeping the ultimate objective in view and not entirely letting go the old anchorage which has held us together.

Great wars take place, bloody wars, but after the war comes peace. Nations come together to find some kind of peace, for they cannot fight for ever. I remember a phrase which Mr. De Valera²⁶ long years ago said in my presence. He said it was very odd how after each war people came together for peace. Why don't they come together before the war and settle it? It seems a simple way out, but it is a very wise thing. You first go through blood and disaster and then you come together and talk of peace. Anyhow, in the world as it is developing today, it would be a great misfortune if there was a world war. And that is why the major countries of the world and particularly the leaders among those countries, seeking peace today are the United States and the Soviet Union, and I believe the United Kingdom. These countries, all powerful countries, all highly developed countries, have come to this conclusion that the way of war is not a good way, and I believe that all three of these are determined to find a way out. We welcome that, and I would not like to do anything which comes in the way of that. It may be that some other countries are not so keen on these settlements. They live in some kind of fever or excitement. They have developed a kind of neurosis because of the fever, may be. But I do not want my country to develop any neurosis of that kind because it is not only bad in itself, but it is really discarding everything that we have stood for, and if we discard that, then we become without roots, national or anything. So I hope that however we may face this contingency and these dangers, we shall remember that basis, that root of ours which has helped us so much in the past.

26. Eamon de Valera, President of Ireland.

For the present, Sir, that is all I wish to say in this connection. I shall listen very carefully to the advice and criticisms of hon. Members and then, if I may, venture to have my last say on this. Thank you.

157. In the Rajya Sabha: India-China Relations²⁷

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to hon. Members for all that they said in the course of this discussion even though some of it was in criticism of our policies and what I may have done. I am glad of their criticism because it enables me to deal with certain aspects of this matter and to remove, possibly, some doubts that may remain in Members' minds. Naturally it is rather embarrassing for me to discuss personal matters, whether the personal matters refer to me or to a colleague of mine.

Now the hon. Member opposite, Mr. Ganga Sharan, after paying me some compliments, mostly undeserved, said that—well—I was suffering from certain rust, mental or otherwise, or bodily. Well, I am no judge of my mental or other condition, and if I have, in his opinion, lost the luster that I once possessed, that is my misfortune. But Mr. Ganga Sharan²⁸ perhaps wrongly thought that I was endowed with certain qualities or misjudged me in the past I cannot function today as I functioned forty or fifty years ago. That is a natural result of the lapse of time. But so far as the policies are concerned, which I seek to pursue hard, I believe that they are in line with all that I have said and done in the last forty years, whether it was in the course of our struggle for our independence or later. I am too much rooted in those thirty years of our struggle to start on a new line in the later years of my life. Nevertheless, whether it was twenty or thirty or forty years ago, I was always trying to look to the future, trying to look to the future for which we were attempting to prepare India. That question always loomed before me—what of Indians future, what do we want India to be, what do we want the world to be, although I was involved very deeply in the then din. Nevertheless, the future occupied at least half of my mind. I wonder how far that is the case with Mr. Ganga Sharan or Dr. Kunzru.

Mr. Shiva Rao²⁹ gave a very relevant quotation from a speech by Sir Winston Churchill, the first speech he delivered when he became the war premier because

27. Motion, 9 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 1967-1991.

28. Ganga Sharan Sinha, PSP.

29. Congress.

of the last great war, when he said "If the present sits in judgment on the past, it may lose the future." It is a wise saying from a man of great experience of war and peace, both. It does seem to me that the hon. Dr. Kunzru is always so wrapped up in the past that he hardly has any idea of the future. Now it has been my misfortune not to have been able to agree with Dr. Kunzru in the course of the last forty years. I am not talking about minor agreements or disagreements—they may occur anywhere—but of rather a basic approach to life and its problems, a basic approach to India and its problems, a basic approach to national and international problems; for forty years we have differed, and forty years ago the hon. Member differing from these new policies left the great organisation to which I had the honour to belong and have belonged all this time. He did not agree, he had every right not to agree of course, as everybody has the right. But he cut himself away from the national current of the day because he did not look at the future; he did not look at the currents of life that were convulsing Indian humanity.

He judged me, Mr. Ganga Sharan, and tells me about public opinion. I should bow to public opinion, I should be of course. What am I here except as a representative of public opinion, and the moment I do not represent them. I shall bow my way out and seek some other occupation—that is obvious. Of course opinions may differ as to what public opinion is. Naturally and there is no single public opinion, it varies and agrees very seldom. There are varieties of public opinion as there are varieties of groups and classes and occupations and all that in a great country. Undoubtedly Shri Ganga Sharan represents a body of public opinion. Undoubtedly Dr. Kunzru represents a body of public opinion. Whether that body is small or big is another matter. The question therefore is when we talk about public opinion—to what public opinion we refer to. Is it the opinion of the masses or the city folk? Is it the opinion of a number of intellectuals? Is it the opinion of a small group or a big group? All these things arise. Is it the opinion of a few newspapers? All that arises. I venture to think that I have, among my many failings, one quality, and that is judging public opinion, having my hand or my mind on the pulse of public opinion, affecting and changing public, opinion. Of course, it is wrong to be swept away by public opinion. If you consider it wrong, you have to resist it. But broadly speaking I try to keep in touch with public opinion and the public have been generous to me in this matter, not only in their affection but also in accepting often the advice I gave them. Therefore, I would submit, let us not discuss here in balance what public opinion is. What I am afraid of in the present instance, and I shall be quite frank with this House, is that here we are facing the gravest problems that a country can face. There was a brief but very important reference to this in Mr. Panikkar's short speech yesterday. We are facing one of the major

historical changes of the world, of Asia, and of India, That is what we are facing. It is not a minor matter. Some people argue, some people say, that it is a minor matter, a border raid, some killing. It is something very big, not in terms of that invasion or aggression or border raid, I am not going now into semantics and legal, wordy quibbling, as Dr. Kunzru was pleased to do yesterday as to whether any violation of the frontier is more or less not expansionism. Is that the way we deal with major problems of the day when the whole picture of the world is changing so far as India is concerned and India's borders are concerned? That is a major issue that we have to face, to which reference was made by Mr. Panikkar. Here is a historical change of the greatest magnitude. For the first time two major powers of Asia face each other on an armed border. For the first time a world power or would be world power sits near our borders and frontiers. It is quite immaterial whether we are friendly or not. Even if we are hundred per cent friendly with them, the fact remains that here is a mighty power sitting on our borders. That itself changes the whole context, the whole picture. That we have to observe and see. And we are not a mean country or a weak country. So, we face each other there and we face each other in anger at the present moment, and we are going to face each other, not today or tomorrow but for hundreds and hundreds of years. Neither China nor India is going to walk out of Asia. That is the question of the present and the future and that is the broad aspect. And I am glad that Mr. Panikkar, with his great experience of both these countries, drew attention to this major historical fact; that is, we are sitting or we are looking at these problems at a turn of history's wheel, a major turn which has never taken place in the past. Look at it from this point of view—not this petty, quibbling point of view of a little area being here or there, of what somebody has said and somebody has not said.

Behind this, look at this other picture—both China and India trying with more or less success to move out of a traditional form of society with traditional structures as they used to be, into something new because all over the world for the last hundred years, 150 years if you like or more, there has been this change from traditional forms to what might be called modern forms—I am using the word 'modern' rather technologically modern, scientifically modern—which has changed the face of the world, which has made the great powers as you see them today because of the technological advance, scientific advance. Now, I am not going into another and a deeper question as to whether technological advance is enough for a country. I should say not. The other forms, call them what you like ethical, moral, spiritual, are necessary to give a country any sound foundation. And surely in the case of India, a country which has believed in that kind of thing, it is important. But I am not going to discuss that. The major fact that I am pointing out is that here is this mighty change which has come

over the world, over the Western world to begin with and now spreading over the Asian world—the advance of science and technology changing the ways of living, the methods of life and bringing the problems of higher standards, more food, more clothing, more of everything that a man needs. And in the course of all this not only a nation's prosperity increases, but its armed power increases. Armed power today is above all based on technological advance. It does not matter how brave the people are in a country. If they are technologically backward, they are supposed to be weak and they are weak in that sense. Now, we see those changes coming over Asia, tremendous, mighty waves of change coming over every part of Asia in various degrees. You see in China a revolution, one of the most basic and fundamental in history, taking place, something convulsing 600 millions of people. We see mighty changes in India, in the 400 millions, not in that violent way, not with those abrupt and violent methods, which we have seen in China, but nevertheless big changes, tremendous and revolutionary changes taking place in the whole streetcars of life here. And I doubt if even we who are today sitting in Parliament fully realise how the base of life in India is changing by a variety of ways, by the spread of education, by the spread of industry and all that. Now, in this background each of these countries is groping forward and when a country like India or a country like China gropes forward, it makes a change—too big not to affect the world—here these two mighty countries come against each other and face each other in an armed way, in anger. That is a major event of the world. What is happening today perhaps in the world is that the centre of gravity of conflict is shifting from Europe to Asia. All these are major historical things and cannot be disposed of by petty arguments, petty criticisms and this or that. Here is the future unveiling itself, unraveling and bringing tremendous new problems which cannot be answered by any traditional way of thinking, whether in war or peace. Therefore, I would beg of Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha to keep this in mind because I have great respect for Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha. But I do think that he is too rooted in traditional ways of thinking to realise the present or think of the future. And as for Dr. Kunzru, whom I have respected always and respect now, I have always somehow felt this difficulty that he loses himself in innumerable details and the big thing passes by unnoticed. So, this is my difficulty. I shall deal with some of the points that Dr. Kunzru raised in so far as I can. But I do wish this House and this country to realise what has happened and what is happening—I dislike it, this House dislikes it. I appreciate and I welcome the surge of emotion that has passed through this country, because of these border troubles. A healthy community ought to react in this way, and having reacted in this way we should turn this energy, this enthusiasm in the right, constructive direction, to build up and strengthen the country to face any peril or adventure that might come our

way. But what troubles me is this turning of this enthusiasm into wrong channels, into effervescent channels which do not last, and sometimes cries are raised which I have fought against all my life when they were raised in other countries. And I am not going to accept those cries being raised in India because I am an Indian; I dislike jingoism, whether it is in England or America or Russia or China or India. I am not a jingoist; I do not want my country to be jingoist, and especially when the jingoism has not even any basis of that great strength to enforce it, it becomes ridiculous to talk in that way. We are not weak. I do not accept it when anybody says we are weak. We are strong enough to face any contingency partly because we have developed industrially and otherwise; we are stronger than we were some years before, much stronger and may I say that the principal strength to which I attach importance has come to us, to our war machine, during the last two or three years and I wish Dr. Kunzru did appreciate this fact.

H.N. Kunzru: I appreciated it much earlier than you. Have a little modesty. That will befit you.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Why? If I may say so, why should I be modest when I think of India? I am not modest when I think of India. Our war machine, as all war machines, depends on an industrial apparatus behind it. I am not talking about the general industrial apparatus of the country, but of the specialised, broad industrial apparatus. That has progressed more in the last two or three years than at any previous time, because more attention, organised attention, has been given to it. That is a thing which comes from a new approach. In this country in whatever line we move we are restricted, limited, constrained, and cabined by our old habits of government and everything. Whether it is the army, whether it is the civil structure—we have the advantage of carrying on with every kind of structure, but there is a very grave disadvantage of being cabined and confined by all this structure. It takes up at the time and we have to consider this matter today, more especially when we talk about policies and other things. But the real difficulty that comes in our way is the delay in the implementation of any policy whether in the States or the government were because of procedures, all kinds of procedures. It has to go through so many grades of officials and others to get through, noting and all that. We all complain against it and yet, we find it exceedingly difficult to get out of it. This kind of thing does not apply, of course, to the Chinese Government. There is no Parliament to discuss anything there. They decide and they order and it is done. And I am not talking that Parliament should not discuss it—of course not—and I was really talking about the difference in the whole approach there, how things

can be done rapidly, whether rightly or wrongly. Our procedures have been inherited from the old British times. The delay is there. Good procedures are there, good in the sense that theoretically they are good, good in the sense that they aim at perfection, perfection of the official procedure, checks and counter-checks this must not go wrong, that must not go wrong. But they result in great delay and that is a very vital matter when we have to do things quickly whether in a peace situation or in a war situation. In a war situation, of course, all that has to go in a chain. So we are tied up. In the same manner, I submit, we are tied up in our mental processes, most people are. It is difficult to adapt ourselves to a world which is rapidly changing, and we are tied up in our mental processes also, because we represent, by and large, as we should not only the urban people, the technical people in India, the new type of human being that has risen in this technological world in India, but we represent above all the rural masses of India. They require representation, of course. That is the principal problem. But we bring with that also the traditional mind. We see that great forces are at work which are changing India, changing China, changing Asia, changing the world. Therefore, we have to look at these problems in this wide perspective and realise that we have to prepare not for some trouble on the border today. But, of course, we have to, to the best of our ability, protect our integrity, but this is the major problem of the future, of two nations armed facing each other. People say, why don't you drive them out? "Why don't you" as if it is some kind of a children's game and not realising what this means. If we can drive them out, they can drive us out of some place and we enter into theirs. So, I do beg of this House to get this broad picture of the vast historical change that has come in and that has to be faced, and that.

Jaswant Singh:³⁰ They drive us out, all right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There speaks the traditional mind again. I cannot get rid of it, I can't. I cannot really deal with the situation if he goes on repeating some pet ideas.

We have got here to face a situation which can only be faced by strength. If that is so, we have to build up that strength as rapidly as possible, and we have to find out how to build up that strength. That strength can be built up in many ways—armies, etc...but basically again, it has to be built up by the industrial background that you have. And remember always, this is not a question of today or six months or a year; years ahead we shall have to face this problem,

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peace or war. Apart from peace or war, whatever it may be, the facts are that two great nations face each other across a tremendous frontier and they are both pretty strong, stronger than in the past. Then how are we to live?

Are we to live in permanent hostility or are we to find some way of existence as friends, if not as friends, as people who tolerate each other? Now, look at this picture even in the wider context of the world. What is happening? All the world is talking about President Eisenhower's visit here. The visit of President Eisenhower would have been important at any time because he represents a great nation. He is a great man. But particular importance attaches to his visit today here, not because of our trouble on the border, but because he is moving about all over, at great trouble and inconvenience is visiting numbers of countries in Europe and Asia, because we feel that he is pursuing an ideology of peace. And that is why wherever he goes, he finds a tremendous welcome, not only from governments, but from the people, and that is why I have no doubt that this afternoon or tomorrow or the day after the people of Delhi will welcome him in their vast numbers, but not a formal welcome, but a welcome from the heart, because we welcome the messengers of peace, the builders of peace, and we feel that he is trying his utmost to achieve peace in spite of great difficulties. Why is all this turn taking place in the Western world? Why suddenly—not suddenly, but nevertheless, very rapidly—has the cold-war mentality gradually changed? It has not gone, of course—of course not—but the change has been remarkable in these last year or so. And everybody is hoping that as months pass, more progress will be made on the question of disarmament, on the question of stoppage of nuclear tests, which is so vital and in putting an end to this cold war. All over the world the masses of people hope that this will happen. They have had that hope, of course, for a long time past. But today a change is taking place with even governments; stolid as they are, they have been moved somewhat by popular emotion and by the facts of life facing them, and so, Governments are also moving in that direction. Now, they are doing so, I take it, not because of, shall I say, humanitarian reasons or just love of everybody, and I hope this element of humanitarian reasons enter into them. But really Governments function, shall I say, not for humanitarian reasons. That is supposed to be rather tough—the government way of dealing with a national question. A Minister may not be tough but Governments are tough and I suppose they have to be tough but Governments have come to the conclusion that this toughness in the present day does not pay. Toughness leads to consequences not on the other party but on themselves. Toughness might lead to utter destruction of themselves and their countries. Here is a great power, England, a nuclear power. What is the fate of England in a nuclear war? Every Englishman knows that. They are brave people; they do not shout and complain. In a major nuclear war, England

is destroyed just like any other country—of course not only England. I am merely mentioning England. Here is one of the greatest countries in the world, a most advanced country, one of the most prosperous countries and even a member of the so-called nuclear club. Even that country cannot protect itself if there is war. They can destroy others but they cannot protect themselves. A curious situation has arisen in this world. Therefore, these statesmen of the world of many countries are trying their hardest to get rid of these fears and suspicions and find some way of living with the people across their borders, some way of co-existence. There is no other way. And let us hope that they win succeed. Now I refer to this matter because you have to consider even your problems from the context of these larger developments because those larger developments will affect us, will affect China. It is not a question of, as some people say, 'how can you put your trust in China?' It is not a question of trust at all.

Frankly, first of all no country finally puts its trust in any other country. They may be more favourably inclined or less but in the ultimate analysis, they have always to keep a loophole in their minds that the other party will not play up or that other things may happen or national interests may come into play. The safer thing is for the national interest to be more or less in line with international interests. Where they conflict, you do not quite know what will happen. So it is not a question of my trusting China or not trusting it but it is a question, nevertheless, of my realising that China and India, two great countries, are going through enormous changes which are strengthening them, making them powerful, modern power States and they will be and they are next to each other and have to remain for millennia to come for geological ages, next to each other. All these questions come up. This does not mean, of course, that we should think of what will happen hundred years hence and forget what is happening today. In the context of today, you have to take every possible step to protect your integrity, your freedom and your self-respect. That of course is so. That is common ground. I need not argue that. You may go into details as to how you do it but it is common ground that we should face this position and protect our country's territories, to the best of our ability and in that comes again a certain morale of the nation, a certain discipline, a certain unity and not constantly nibbling at each other and nagging at each other and blaming each other, because that is just the thing which undermines that very basis when you have to face a national crisis. Then you prepare for tomorrow also by our developing industrial growth and the rest. That is admitted. I do not refer to it because it is no good going on repeating the same phrases, but the basic thing remains. What is your picture of today, and what will be the picture tomorrow and the day after and you have to prepare for it because basically and

fundamentally I know that we must work for peace in the world. We must work for peace on our borders and we must work but at the same time not talk about peace—if I may be forgiven for saying so—in a Utopian way, just reciting a Mantra of peace and doing nothing. I do not believe that the weak can do anything worthwhile. A weak nation cannot do and even the cry of peace from a weak nation or individual has no influence on others. It is only when there is strength behind it, the strength of will and the spirit of the nation and organized strength of the nation that its voice counts. It has been an amazing thing and a surprising thing that India's voice has counted for so much in the councils of the world in the last several years since independence. Progressively it has counted for more and more without the material background of strength behind that voice. It has been a surprising thing how that has happened. We may have been taken in by it that we are getting bigger and bigger. We may have become conceited about it—there was some room for conceit, I admit—but the fact is, that a country like India, which, in the modern world is in terms of physical might not to be compared with the great powers or with many of the armed nations, which cannot be even called great powers, a country which is poor and which is struggling hard to get rid of its poverty, how has this country's voice, with no great military might, with no financial or other resources has counted for so much in the world for the last few years. Whether it is in the United Nations or whether it is elsewhere, we are respected all over the world; let us remember that. Now there must be some reason for it. Maybe, you may say—well, I am not saying it but somebody may say that—that it is clever diplomacy, it is cleverly putting ourselves across to others. Maybe, there is something in it, not wholly. It may be due to the remembrance in the world of a mighty personality like Gandhiji and we shine by it or we have got something of the radiance that he possessed. It may be that we have spoken with conviction and earnestness and sincerity about peace and our desire for peace and our desire for tolerance and when we have talked about coexistence and all that, it was not a phrase in our mouths and lips. It was a deep feeling from inside our hearts and it was a deep understanding of the world as it is today because there can be nothing else but co-existence in the world.

I do say it—because the emphasis is deeper—that there can be nothing else but Panchsheel in this world. I say it with all the emphasis at my command. It may be broken by individuals or nations. They will suffer if they break. The world will suffer. It is a different matter. So we have followed a policy not of the day, not of the moment, but a policy which looked into the future and millions and millions of people in other countries were affected by that. They looked up to India in a sense—they could get nothing out of us, not money, not arms—they looked up to us because they felt that India did have the change to stand

for something even though it was a poor country and a lightly armed country. There was something in that. It was the policy we pursued, the policy of non-alignment, the policy of co-existence of the policy of Panchsheel, call it what you will, basically. It was—I will not say immaterial—largely immaterial all the same what China did or some other country did about it. In so far as China is concerned, if China breaks that policy, that type of contact with us breaks—between China and India but the policy is not wrong. So we attained a measure of stature among nations which normally nations do not attain unless they have financial power, industrial power or military power. We had none of these three, to any large extent. We attained that because of the policies we have pursued, the policies which some hon. Members here seem to think have been wrong ab initio, which, Dr. Kunzru seems to think is completely wrong and even if it was right basically, it was implemented wrongly. Therefore I am pointing out . . .

H. N. Kunzru: I never said that the principles underlying Panchsheel were wrong. All that I said was that the manner in which the Prime Minister had interpreted it and implemented it was wrong, is quite wrong and I repeat it now.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am glad that Dr. Kunzru has made it clear beyond any shadow of doubt. That is exactly what I meant, because he said that the policy in theory was right but the manner the Prime Minister has interpreted and acted upon it has been wrong, wrong and wrong—three times. Now so far as the world is concerned, the world judges of that policy not by some Sastri document preserved in our ancient archives. The world has heard of this policy from what the Prime Minister has said about it and the world has reacted to it from learning of it from my lips, from my writings and from statements made by me. Therefore, the world has fallen out of step with Dr. Kunzru. That is my humble submission. Of course, Dr. Kunzru has a habit of falling out of step. He fell out of step forty years ago with the national movement. He cannot keep pace with the advance of our nation or of the world. He is so deeply engrossed in the vast extent of his old learning that the new learning passes by.

Now Sir, I would beg this House to keep these to keep these broad pictures in mind, I shall briefly repeat them. There is the broad picture of the world undergoing a tremendous change. As I said yesterday, new horizons, new visions come up, something almost going outside the scope of physical existence, when you talk of going to the moon and of scientific developments today. They almost take you to something which I do not know how to describe. I may call it dimensional the fourth dimension. We live in a three dimensional world and now we might almost be on the verge of the fourth dimension for aught I know.

Anyhow there are two types of existence, two types of experience which are beyond the normal experience of humanity, individuals apart. That is happening in the world today. Science says matter and energy is one and the same thing almost. We do repeat these phrases, not understanding them. So there is this change. Then there is this big change in the world; the change away from the cold war, in which the lead has been taken by these two great, the two biggest and strongest nations of the world—America and the Soviet Union. That is one aspect of it. The other aspect is this particular problem that is raised when China and India, if I may say so come to grips with the problem of historical significance. That is represented today by the aggression or invasion of our territory, or call it what you like, by the violation of our territory and all that. But behind that question—that is important enough and we have to face it—but actually behind that stretches this vista of the future which I see all the time and I try to evolve or meet this equation or see how to solve this problem. But I want this House and not only this House but millions of our people must have some glimpse of this, for otherwise they will decide wrongly. Otherwise they will lose all the enthusiasm and energy that they possess by taking shelter in jingoistic and chauvinistic cries. That would be a tragedy, a very grave tragedy, because we shall become a nation not of depth but of effervescence. We shall become a nation which has lost its anchorage. I am afraid of that kind of thing and that is why I talk about this sometimes in public and elsewhere. People think I am afraid of China or I am afraid of this or that, because I do that. I am elsewhere. I am not afraid of anything of that type. I am only afraid of our nation losing grip of the fundamentals in which it has believed. That is the only thing I am afraid of.

Now, may I refer briefly to some of the points raised? Dr. Kunzru referred to a certain Border Committee that was appointed. I shall tell the House about this Committee. But I suppose enough facts have come out in the papers, in the White Papers and in the speeches here and in the other House to indicate that right from 1950, or at any rate from 1951, when the Chinese forces came into Tibet, we have had this problem before us. It has not suddenly come up before us this year or last year. We have had this problem before us and this developing picture which I have put before you, of two power States emerging, two power States coming face to face with each other on a tremendous border. Ever since 1950, this has been the picture before us. We may have differed as to the timing in our minds, as to when this will happen, whether in five years, ten years, twenty years, fifteen years, it was difficult to say. But we had that picture. And looking through my old papers when this occurred, I was surprised myself to see how we had referred to these contingencies, eight or nine years ago, in our papers and how we had written to our ambassadors in Peking and others,

especially at Peking and asked for his reactions. In those early years of this present day Republic, the Chinese Republic, Mr. Panikkar was our ambassador there and I read through his notes on the subject and our notes to him and our decisions. From the very first day and all the time this problem came before us, about our frontier. It is not a new problem. The question was whether we should raise it in an acute form at that stage. We decided—whether it was right or wrong you can judge now, it is easy to be wise after the event, for hind sight is always easy to take—we decided not to, and still we do not see how we could have decided otherwise. We might have done so, of course, but I do not see any reason yet. But with all the material that was before us at the time, we decided that we must make clear in every possible way what our frontier was in our opinion, clear in our maps, clear in our statements, clear to the world and clear to China and clear to our own people, of course, and hold by it, stick by it. Why should we go about asking China to raise this question when we felt sure about it? Why invite discussion about a thing on which we had no doubt? But as I said, we might, with hind sight say that that was not a very wise policy that is a different matter. The point is this was discussed repeatedly in our notes, in our papers, and despatches. I believe, if I may say so, Mr. Panikkar himself advised us at that time, “Yes, you need not raise it; but declare it openly”. We declared it in Parliament. We declared it before the Chinese Government and all that. And during all this period, remember, the only way this question came up before us was because of the Chinese maps. When we saw the Chinese maps we protested and the answer always was “These are old maps which require revision and we shall, when we have leisure, revise them.” But at no time during this entire period did they challenge our map. They did not accept it in so many words but they never challenged it. And they never raised this question themselves and all that they said about their own maps was that these had to be revised. Now, I wish to admit that a lingering doubt remained in my mind and in my Ministry’s mind as to what might happen in the future. But we did not see how we were going to decide this question by hurling it in that form at the Chinese at the moment. We felt that we should hold by our position and that the lapse of time and events will confirm it, and by the time perhaps, when the challenge to it came, we would be in a much stronger position to face it. I may be perfectly frank to the House. It is not as if it was ignored or that it was not thought about. After the longest and clearest thinking and consultations with those who were concerned, between our Ambassadors and others, our Foreign Affairs Committee and others, we came to this decision. This was discussed again and again, after two or three years, whenever a new contingency arose. Then came the period of the Tibetan Treaty or the Tibetan Agreement of 1954. Again we considered it at length. Should we bring this question positively into

the front—the recognition of the McMahon Line? A hon. Member—I forget who—asked, “Why did you not ask them to recognise it?”

Well, what exactly was the quid pro quo? They were sitting in Tibet. Our telling them that we did not recognise it would mean nothing. What were we supposed to say? It is not clear to me. Was it a question on non-recognition of the Chinese Government? Were we going that far? “All right, we do not recognise you. We break off relations with you because you do not recognise the McMahon Line” or, as some people going on saying, we do not recognise the Chinese sovereignty or suzerainty over Tibet. They were sitting there and our saying anything to them would make no difference. It is rather infantile to think that they would have been frightened by our saying something. The result would have been that they would have achieved their dominance over Tibet completely and the only thing is that we would have quarreled with them and we would have come near breaking point with them. The trouble on the frontier would have come immediately, not now but years back we would have had to face it. So, this business of saying that we should have insisted on this and insisted on that, we should have asked them to guarantee this and guarantee that, we should have made them commit themselves to this or that envisages all kinds of ultimatum and the like being issued by us and their being compelled to accept that ultimatum. It does not fit in with the facts of life, with the facts as they are in Asia, in India, in China and in Tibet. I can imagine some argument being based on some high moral principles, regardless of what happens to India or to Tibet or to anybody. That, of course, may be advanced but such an argument usually by itself does not influence Foreign Offices.

Now Sir, Mr. Ganga Sharan and others sort of seemed to have an idea that there has been negligence and said that past negligence should not be repeated. I really am not ashamed to confess errors; maybe we had been negligent here and there in various places but in our broad policy in regard to our frontiers I do claim that we have not been negligent keeping this broad picture in view because any other step of a major character would have created a crisis earlier than we would have been prepared for it. You may say, and you would be right in saying, that we could have pushed ahead with more of road building or building lines of communications, etc. I think we have been going on fast there.

Ganga Sharan Sinha: That is what precisely I said in my speech.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But then, you should remember another aspect. It always becomes a question of balancing things. Here we are struggling with our five year plans and the like. We have to balance and to see whether we should spend so much more on the development of a frontier area or in some other area

which will bring in quicker results, say a steel plant or a fertiliser plant. One has to balance all these things. Maybe the balancing is wrong. One makes a guess; one has to judge. There is the danger of slow progress in one direction and the dangers in the frontier. All these things have to be done and one makes a guess about the future and goes ahead.

Now, Dr. Kunzru referred to the Border Committee Report. There was another Committee also. Last evening I got the report and looked through it again. The North and the North Eastern Border Committee was appointed in 1951. This committee made a large number of recommendations and these recommendations were examined by an ad hoc committee of Secretaries and finally by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. An overwhelming number of recommendations made were accepted and implemented. Among the major recommendations were the re-organisation and expansion of the Assam Rifles, the extension of administration in the NEFA area, development of intelligence network along the border, development of the border areas, development of civil armed police, development of communications and check posts. Our position in regard to Nepal was considered separately. All these recommendations, barring a few, were accepted and they have been implemented some time ago. So far as the development of the border areas was concerned the Ministry of Home Affairs took up this question with the State Governments concerned and provision was made for these in the Five Year Plans, the Centre giving substantial help. This development included road communications, schools, hospitals, tribal welfare, animal husbandry, etc. The construction of a number of roads was entrusted to Army engineers, especially in NEFA. The Ministry of Transport was also entrusted with making a number of roads. Some of these roads have been completed, some are being constructed and a few were not accepted or not proceeded with, either for tactical reasons or because expenditure on the construction of such roads was colossal and out of proportion to the good that they may do. So, Sir, broadly speaking, it may be said that nearly all the recommendations made by the Committee were accepted and implemented.

Dr. Kunzru referred to what our representative said in the United Nations in regard to Tibet. He was surprised at it. First of all, I am afraid our representative did not say the words which were quoted by Dr. Kunzru. That is neither here nor there but our policy in regard to Tibet was laid down after full discussion in Parliament long before the question came up in the United Nations, I stated it—I am not quite sure if I stated it here or in the Lok Sabha—in answer to questions. We have discussed this clearly and we have laid it down also. We declared it publicly, in Parliament, in Press Conferences and the like and that is exactly what was repeated there. You might disagree with that policy; that is a

different matter. I think that was a right policy and the only policy to be pursued but to state that this is something new evolved there is not correct. There is, Sir, an intimate relation between the domestic policies of a country and the foreign policies of a country. Sometimes they diverge a little but broadly speaking—presumably because there is the same mind behind both—they act and interact against each other and I have a feeling that the difficulty that some hon. Members may have in appreciating my argument for the foreign policy we pursue really relates back to their difference in view about the domestic policies we pursue. I have no doubt about it in my mind. Not always, but in varying degrees it is there and you will find that even today, while I have ventured in all humility to say that the foreign policy that we pursue is supported by the widest measure of public opinion that you can have in India—it has been supported and it is supported—there are minor criticisms. The critics of that foreign policy, you will find—the major critics—are critics of our domestic policy also. They are tied up—the two things—and I can understand that. That happens; some people think differently; it is not necessary for everyone to think alike in the country. There are parties that think differently—honestly, sincerely. But we must realise the urges behind it, the roots of the thoughts which govern their domestic outlook as well as their international outlook. And if they are different, they can convert me I shall be happy. I try to convert them, sometimes with success, sometimes I fail.

Now Sir, I have ventured to take up nearly an hour of this House and for the rest all I wish to say is that so far as the present situation is concerned, obviously we have to prepare for it to the best of our ability. On the one hand I have referred so much to our industrial development even from the Defence point of view. How I want to expedite it, to hurry it up; I want Government procedures to become quicker in doing these things. I try to do it but it is a very difficult thing in a machine, in a huge machine that has grown up from generations to change it quickly. We have been changing it; we have changed it partly; we will change it more, I hope, and make it a swift-moving machine. We have to think again of the future, the next few years, how we are to face that future. We cannot deal with the issue today; we have to deal with it in the military sense today and we propose to give opportunities to our young men to be trained in the N.C.C., the Territorial Army or the Special Force that we may raise.

Sir, there is one fact which might be remembered when people think so much sometimes of obtaining outside aid. Maybe they imagine that in my conceit I say that I will not take outside aid. Well, it is not for me to judge myself but I certainly have a little conceit about India's standing on its own legs. Of course I cannot say what in an eventuality we may do; that is a different matter but I do

not want this idea to go out to our people that others will preserve our freedom, that others will help us. I do not want India to go on crutches. We have faced grave difficulties, grave crises, and survived them and I have no doubt at all in my mind that we shall survive not only because of the development we have got now and the way we are developing but more so because I have got a fundamental faith in the Indian people. Therefore I am not worried; certainly I have to think and I have to take counsel in Parliament and we have to devise general ways of meeting such tests. So what I was saying was it is an odd thing you talk of aid. The type of warfare we are dealing with is warfare which requires stout men, not machines very much. Certainly, some machines you want, not big machines. The type of aid that one gets from abroad are machines and in these mountain areas those machines do not reach. If they are big machines there is little good. We want stout and trained men, not only stout and trained men, but men of the mountains who are used to high altitudes, who are used to terribly cold climates, who are used to hardship. We want young men who physically are in A-1 condition. From the physical point of view our conditions are not generally A-1 or A-2 even. So this is the type of thing we want and we have got enough of them, I am sure, and I hope that we shall build up for the present our defence as much as possible in this way and build up our industrial apparatus for the future and while doing all that always aiming at a peaceful settlement, always, aiming at peace, and not losing ourselves in some kind of vague chauvinistic or jingoistic ideas which will do enormous injury to our country and to the larger causes that we have supported.

There are some amendments, Sir. I need not say that I will gladly accept the amendment which is in my favour, that is, Mr. Samuels.³¹ Thank you, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: The question is.

3. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—
'and having considered the same, this House regrets—

- (1) the failure of Government to take prompt and active steps to check Chinese aggression;
- (2) the failure of Government to protect the time-honoured trading and other rights of Indians in Tibet which have been wiped out by the Chinese."

The motion was negatived.

31. M.H. Samuels, Congress.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

1. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely:-
'and having considered the same, this House approves of and endorses the policy of the Government in this regard'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: I will now put the amended motion.

The question is:

"That White Paper No. II and subsequent correspondence between the Governments of India and China, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 23rd November, 1959, be taken into consideration and having considered the same, this House approves of and endorses the policy of the Government in this regard."

The motion was adopted.

158. To Chou Hsiang-Kuang: Promoting Chinese Culture³²

December 15, 1959

Dear Professor Chou,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th December.³³

I can well understand your loving China, not only because she is your home country, but chiefly because of its high culture. There is no reason why we should not admire the culture of more than one country.

As you must know, we do not recognise the Government in Formosa. Because of this, it is difficult for us to agree to the acceptance of any grant from the Formosa Government for any purpose in India.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

32. Letter to a Professor of Chinese, University of Allahabad. Copied to S. Dutt.

33. Professor Chou wished to establish a College for Chinese Culture in India. He had spoken to the Chinese Government in Formosa and they had agreed to make a donation. He wanted Nehru's views in the matter.

159. To Kesho Ram: Chinese Pavilion at the New Delhi Fair³⁴

In case the Speaker is pleased to admit this notice calling for a statement by me, I shall make the following statement:

“We have enquired about the allegation made by the Peking Radio that the Chinese Pavilion in the World Agriculture Fair in New Delhi was stoned by some people. This allegation is wrong. We have fully enquired into this matter and found that there is no truth in this statement that the Chinese pavilion was stoned. What happened was that some unknown person made some objectionable remarks in the Visitors’ Book which is maintained at the pavilion by the Chinese authorities. Apparently a few visitors also gave expression to their displeasure.

Steps have been taken to have a constant watch on the Chinese pavilion in the Agriculture Fair and every precaution has been taken to see that no untoward incident occurs there.”

160. To Amrit Kaur: Peace Mission to China³⁵

December 20, 1959

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of today’s date. It is true that I did not like the idea of the so-called “Peace Mission” going to China under the leadership of the Vice-President. In the circumstances that we are facing, a peace mission has no meaning when there is complete difference of opinion in regard to history and facts. Would the peace mission discuss all these complicated facts or would it merely offer our goodwill for a settlement?

Apart from this, any such move would be very strongly resented in India at present.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

34. Note, 19 December 1959.

35. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP.

161. To Chou En-lai³⁶

December 21, 1959

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of December 17 the text of which our Ambassador in Peking has telegraphed to us.³⁷ I deeply regret that you have not accepted the very reasonable proposals contained in my letter of 16th November. They were intended to secure an immediate lessening of tension along the Sino-Indian border by eliminating any risk of border clashes and to create the necessary atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the border problem.

Your present letter once again reiterates claims to extensive areas which by history, by custom or by agreement have long been integral parts of India. I am particularly sorry to find that you have based your claim on recent intrusion by Chinese personnel into parts of Indian territory. It is these intrusions which have brought about the present situation and created apprehensions. You have not sent any reply to my letter of September 26 to you and our note of November 4 in which some salient facts bearing on the situation had been mentioned.

I only wish to say that I cannot accept your allegation that Indian forces have occupied any part of Chinese territory, or committed aggression at Kongka Pass or at Longju where our established check-post was attacked by Chinese troops.

Your letter also speaks of the 'friendly manner' in which Indian personnel who were captured in the Chang Chenmo valley were treated. Shri Karam Singh whom you returned to us has made his statement of the treatment that he and his colleagues received while they were prisoners in the custody of the Chinese border forces. This statement will show you the deplorable treatment to which the Indian prisoners were subjected by the Chinese forces.³⁸

Your Excellency has suggested that you and I should meet on December 26 so as to reach an agreement on the principles which are presumably to guide the officials on both sides in the discussion of details. As I informed you in my letter of November 16 and earlier, I am always ready to meet and discuss with Your Excellency the outstanding differences between our countries and explore

36. Letter to the Prime Minister of China. Reproduced from *Notes, Memoranda and Letters exchanged between the Governments of India and China, November 1959-March 1960. White Paper No. III* (Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, n.d.) [1960], pp. 58-59. Also available in JN Collection.

37. See Appendix 12.

38. See Appendix 8.

[It is Ticking...]



The Prime Minister appreciated the "desire to negotiate" found in Mr. Chou En-lai's letter.—News.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 3 JANUARY 1960

the avenues of settlement. How can we, Mr Prime Minister, reach an agreement on principles when there is such complete disagreement about the facts? I would, therefore prefer to wait for your promised reply to my letter of September 26 and our note of November 4, before we discuss what should be the next step. I wish to add that it is entirely impossible for me to proceed to Rangoon or any other place within the next few days.

I would not like to end this letter to you without referring to the sentiments which you have expressed in your last paragraph. I am in entire agreement with you that the principal concern of our two countries should be "with the programme of long-term peaceful construction to lift ourselves from our present

state of backwardness", to which you have referred. I equally agree with you that we should not be parties to the increasing of tension between our two countries or in the world. India has welcomed the fact that there is some lowering of world tensions and that "the world situation is developing in a direction favourable to peace". It is for this last reason, even apart from the imperative need to improve the relations between our two countries, that in spite of all recent events I have continually stressed the need for a peaceful settlement of our problems.

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

162. In the Lok Sabha: India-China Relations³⁹

Mr. Speaker: Before we take up any other matter, the hon. Prime Minister wants to make a statement.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, three days ago, on the 18th December, I received through our Ambassador in Peking, Premier Chou En-lai's reply to my letter of the 16th November.⁴⁰ This letter has already appeared in the Press and so I need not give any details about its contents.

I read this letter with regret. It does not accept the reasonable and practical proposals which I had made to Premier Chou En-lai in order to secure an immediate lessening of tension along the Sino-Indian border and to create the necessary atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the border problem. It is merely a reiteration of claims to extensive areas in our territory which by history, by custom or by agreement have long been integral parts of India. It does not contain any reply to the detailed letter which I had sent to him on September 26 and the note of November 4 in which some salient facts bearing on the situation had been mentioned. Premier Chou En-lai has stated in his letter that he would send a reply to this previous letter and note of mine in the near future.

39. Statement, 21 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 6266-77.

40. See Appendix 12.

I have today sent a reply to Premier Chou En-lai referring to the above facts and stating that I am sorry to find that he had based his claim on recent intrusions by Chinese personnel into parts of Indian territory. It is, in fact, these intrusions which had brought about the present situation and created apprehensions. I have further stated that I cannot accept the allegation that Indian forces had occupied any part of Chinese territory, or committed aggression at Kongka Pass or at Longju, where our established check-post was attacked by Chinese troops.

Premier Chou En-lai in his letter has spoken of the "friendly manner" in which Indian personnel who were captured in the Chenmo Valley were treated. I have referred him again to the statement of Shri Karam Singh about the treatment that he and his colleagues received while they were prisoners in the custody of the Chinese border forces. This statement clearly indicates the deplorable treatment to which the Indian prisoners were subjected.

Premier Chou En-lai had suggested that he and I should meet on December 26 so as to reach an agreement on the principles which are presumably to guide the officials on both sides in the discussion of details. I have repeated, what I have said previously, that I am always ready to meet and discuss with him the outstanding differences between our countries and explore the avenues of settlement. I have, however, pointed out that I do not see how we can reach an agreement on principles when there is such complete disagreement about the facts. I would prefer to wait for his promised reply to my letter of September 26 and our note of November 4 before we discuss what should be the next step. I have added that it is quite impossible for me to proceed to Rangoon or any other place within the next few days.

In my reply I have expressed my entire agreement with him to the sentiments which he had expressed in the last paragraph of his letter, to the effect that the principal concern of our two countries should be "with the programme of long-term peaceful construction to lift ourselves from our present state of back-wardness, and that we should not be parties to the increasing of tension between our two countries or in the world." India has welcomed the fact that there is some lowering of world tensions and that "the world situation is developing in a direction favourable to peace". It is for this reason, even apart from the imperative need to improve the relations between our two countries, that in spite of recent events, I have continually stressed the need for a peaceful settlement of our problems.

Braj Raj Singh: Premier Chou En-lai has been publishing everything which he has been sending to our Prime Minister. May I know whether this letter which our Prime Minister has sent to Chou En-lai will be published here or

whether a copy of it will be supplied to us?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have given the substance of the letter. It may vary a little here and there. It will be released to the Press after two or three days so as to allow it to reach him.

C. K. Bhattacharya:⁴¹ May I know whether Mr. Chou En-lai's letter was sent to the Press from the Chinese Embassy or from the Government of India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The letter was issued in Peking to the Press and to the radio there. In fact the message that I received from our Ambassador in Peking containing Mr Chou En-lai's letters stated at the end of it that as soon as I received that letter, they would release it to the Press. They have released it to the Press.

Acharya Kripalani: Sir, as you know, I and some leaders of the Opposition Parties have given notice under Rule 193 of the Rules of Procedure that we are desirous of having discussion on the latest letter received from the Chinese Premier in reply to the Prime Minister's letter dated the 16th November, 1959.

The reason for this is that the latest letter received from the Chinese Premier rejects in toto the proposals made by the Prime Minister in his letter of 16th November. Further the Chinese Premier asks for our withdrawal from a number of places all along the frontier and lays claim to places that are indisputably in India and agreed to as such by China in the treaty signed with us in 1954. From the reply, it appears that our territories in Ladakh have not been occupied by China but are being effectively colonised.

Parliament must have an opportunity to discuss the reply received and consider the situation arising out of it before it adjourns. In view of the urgency and the great importance of the matter sought to be discussed, we hope time will be found for discussion in the two days left. If this is not possible, I think we can prolong for a couple of days the sitting of the House and discuss this matter.

I am anxious to have this discussion because I find that they (the Chinese) have rejected the Prime Minister's proposals which were

41. Congress.

favourable to the Chinese and unfavourable to us and the other conditions laid down for a meeting, further, I say that we seem to have forgotten what we knew before—the importance of time. Time ripens a fruit but if not properly picked up, then time also rots the fruit. One good thing that we had learnt from Gandhiji was that he took action at the proper time. When the psychological time is past, then of course, it cannot be recovered. And even the Chinese Prime Minister has reminded us of what he calls an “eloquent proof”. For many years while aggression was going on in the Ladakh, we did nothing and he calls that as “eloquent proof” of our having accepted the Chinese contention. So, I submit that all along we have made the mistake of not taking into consideration the factor of time and I believe the correspondence on the part of China is only to waste time. They yet claim the very same things that they have claimed in their maps. There is no basis, I believe, for talks but time is being lost. Why is time lost? I humbly submit—because they (the Chinese) want that turmoil in the Himalayan regions should continue and they want to organise subversive movements on our Himalayan borders. Further, they want to frighten the people and the small kingdoms that are on the borders. Therefore, it becomes very necessary that we must in time decide what we propose to do because I feel that the tone of the letter and the contents of the letter are such that there seems to be no possibility of any negotiations. They (the Chinese) have not even left a basis for negotiations. They have even told us that what Karam Singh said is wrong and what they say is right. There is no point that we have raised which has been answered in the letter. So, I think it is very necessary that we do not allow time to be wasted by this fruitless correspondence. Therefore, I think a discussion upon the matter is very necessary and essential and I hope you will find time and the House will find time to discuss the matter before anything further is done.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the House knows that I am always anxious, at any rate willing, to have discussions about any important matter arising in connection with foreign affairs, more especially a matter of this kind. We have discussed it on two occasions. But quite apart from the question of the House or you finding time for this discussion I really do not understand the argument of the hon. Member that time is passing and somehow the passage of time will be arrested by discussion. Time will nevertheless pass in spite of a discussion.

Acharya Kripalani: The House will give its opinion whether the time should be allowed to pass or not.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly the point I was going to suggest. The hon. Member has said that it is not good to negotiate and that is a trick for time to pass on the part of the Chinese Government. Well, I do not know what the hon. Member has in mind. But so far as I am concerned and so far as this Government is concerned, we will negotiate and negotiate and negotiate to the bitter end. I absolutely reject the approach of stopping negotiations at any stage. That, I think, is not only a fundamentally wrong approach, but, if I may say so, with all respect to the hon. Member opposite, it is fundamentally anti-Gandhian approach. That does not mean that any action which is necessitated should not be taken. That is an entirely different matter. But negotiations will go on so long as this Government functions, to the end.

Jadhav:⁴² Adopt the 1942 policy of Gandhiji.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That does not mean, as I said, any action that we intend should not be taken. If the hon. Member means a declaration of war, well, the hon. Member, if I may suggest to him, might consider the question a little more carefully as to what war involves and how we attain our object by a declaration of war.

Therefore, Sir, I am in your hands. I merely state what I think of a further discussion at this state, when we are obviously in the middle of this correspondence. The correspondence may not be to the liking of the hon. Member or to my liking, the letters that we receive, but that is the way how countries function short of war. There is no other way. The other way is war, and that way is to be avoided as far as one can avoid it. That has been our policy and that is the policy, at any rate, the declared policy of every civilised nation. For us to jump into something without exhausting all possibilities, something which will be disastrous not only for the countries jumping into it but for the whole world, is not a matter lightly to be undertaken, and we know this Government will not undertake it in that way.

But there are many other things which this country has to do in the way of preparation, in the way of strengthening our defences etc., and those things certainly should be expedited, undertaken to the best of our ability and as speedily as possible.

There is one thing more, that it is up to you and the House to decide whether they want a discussion, but I regret I shall not be here day after tomorrow as I

have important engagements which I cannot forego; as the House is ending tomorrow I have made those engagements.⁴³

Acharya Kripalani: I did not want to interrupt the hon. Prime Minister, but every time to bring in the plea that this or that will lead to war and war is very disastrous, I think, is not very fair. I think that I know enough of Gandhiji, that he always negotiated, but the time came when he said that action must be taken. What action the Government takes is another question. Let them take any action but it should not be that time should be lost and in the meantime subversive activities should go on our borders and our friends should be intimidated in every way. That is all that I wanted to say.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: I strongly endorse the statement of our hon. Prime Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I am a little alarmed by the endorsement of the hon. Raja Saheb, but I would beg this House to consider one thing. There are, I would again repeat, only two ways in which nations deal with each other, diplomatic or war; there is no third way.

Acharya Kripalani: Is there an end to diplomacy ever?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is by war, nothing else than war.

Acharya Kripalani: There are many other things that can be done.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no other way. Diplomacy has many shares, many ways, but if it is diplomacy it is communication, it is talking till talking stops when there is war. Till there is actual, absolute declaration of war, there is diplomacy.

Acharya Kripalani: But if the other party wants to waste time, what is to be done?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. Therefore, I should put it to the hon. Member to think a little clearly on the subject. Clear thought is necessary and clear thought leads to only one conclusion. There is no alternative to ceasing talking

43. See items 111 and 169.

but war. It does not matter what it is. The hon. Member is thinking that time is being wasted. How, I do not know, time is wasted. It is not at all clear to me how it is being wasted; I think it is very profitably employed.

Acharya Kripalani: If there is a discussion you will be able to understand.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But I can't pit my wits against the hon. Member, but I think I would suggest to him to consider what he himself was saying and what the consequences are. I do think that frequent discussions on the same thing will not help. There is no additional fact before us at the present moment. We have discussed it. We are committed, naturally, to take such steps as we can, as the country can, with such speed, as we can to strengthen our defences. The hon. Member referred to some infiltration or subversive activities in our borders. I do not know where subversive activities are taking place. (Interruption) I can't answer for any odd individual, but I think our newspapers sometimes rather exaggerate rumours which they get in Kalimpong Bazaar, in Kathmandu Bazaar or some other bazaar, and we need not accept everything that comes by way of rumour. We have to be vigilant and all that, but some things, I do submit, are not always desirable; to exaggerate them creates a wrong impression in the country.

There is the position, Sir. I am entirely in your hands and in the hands of the House in this matter. One thing I may add—I am sorry I forgot to say so—we have asked our Ambassador in Peking to come to Delhi for consultation and he will be arriving here in about four days time.

Hem Barua: Sir, the information demanded from Shillong about airspace violation and all that is surely not a bazaar thing. The Press carries news about airspace violation and all that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: How to make it clear, I do not know, I thought I had made it clear. Every plane of ours that flies from there, the report goes that it is an enemy plane. How am I to repeat that they are looking up at a plane and are not able to recognise what kind of aircraft it is? Our planes are flying all the time all over the place.

Acharya Kripalani: Then let us say that the airspace is free for everybody? Everyday violations are there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No foreign plane is there, I repeat, I should like to have proof from anybody to counter my statement. We know it definitely. We get an

account from the hon. Member opposite in his motion for adjournment we enquire and we find that our planes are flying and they are doing good work. How am I to explain this?

Acharya Kripalani: In answer to a question it has been said that planes have crossed.

Nath Pai:⁴⁴ Sir, I have one little point to make. The Prime Minister just now said that we cannot go on acting on Press reports which are bazaar reports. In fairness to the House and the Press we have got to say that on a previous occasion when some reports emanated from Kalimpong the Prime Minister angrily repudiated them but, unfortunately, to a point, regarding Tibet and Ladakh they proved right. Secondly, if the House is kept informed from time to time we shall depend not on what the Press tell us but on what he tells us, but we are very often informed too late.

Regarding the remarks, how does a discussion stop passage of time, I must say that a discussion does not stop the passage of time, time keeps on marching, but if we have a discussion definitely the Government knows the mood of the country and, far more important, China also is informed how this country is feeling about it. It is for this reason, Sir that we plead that we be given an opportunity of discussing this.

It is unfair to suggest every time that we demand that we be firm we are asking for war. Nobody wants war. It has been made innumerable times clear that in your pursuit of peace we are with you. It is unfair to stand behind, that is what we want to suggest. Nobody wants you to go to war. There is a charge against us that there are war-mongers in this country. Who wants war? (Interruption) We are not in war so far as Peking is concerned. (Laughter) You do not know where to laugh. Sir, this is a very unfair thing and you should not allow that. Acharya Kripalani is the last person in the world to demand that. We are standing by him. He never meant that the country should go to war, but that China should not be allowed to proceed further. Only a week ago the Prime Minister told us that there was no road. I had asked the question whether the road was constructed without our knowledge and why we were prevented from noticing, it. He told us that there was no such thing as a road, it was only a question of removing a stone or building a culvert. Mr. Chou En-lai now says that 3,000 people were working for a period of two years. It is this

thing that worries us, this passage of time. Therefore, he should make a reply in that context and not indicate that others are wanting to start a war.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not say at any moment that we should not believe anything that appears in the press. I said that occasionally Kalimpong Bazaar rumours appear there. Take this particular fact which has its humorous side—that we get a number of adjournment motions day after day, and I go on saying that, after due enquiry, we find not a single aircraft coming from outside (Interruption). Please let me proceed I am not referring to some other previous things. I am talking of the last few days. The fact is that our aircraft are functioning there very adequately and very efficiently. Nobody, no layman can possibly find out, when an aircraft is flying at about 20,000 or 30,000 ft, what its markings are and what its country of origin is. They cannot. About that particular area, during these days, I can say with the greatest certainty and definiteness that no foreign aircraft is coming, because we have been in the air all the time doing work that has been allotted to our people. I do not say that every statement in the press is wrong. That would be ridiculous for me to say.

163. In the Rajya Sabha: India-China Relations⁴⁵

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity of making a statement.

Three days ago, on the 18th December, I received through our Ambassador in Peking, Premier Chou En-lai's reply to my letter of the 16th November.⁴⁶ This letter has already appeared in the Press and so I need not give any details about its contents.

I read this letter with regret. It does not accept the reasonable and practical proposals which I had made to Premier Chou En-lai in order to secure an immediate lessening of tension along the Sino-Indian border and to create the necessary atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the border problem. It is merely a reiteration of claims to extensive areas in our territory which by history, by custom or by agreement have long been integral parts of India. It does not contain any reply to the detailed letter which I had sent to him on September

45. Statement, 21 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 3227-3232.

46. See Appendix 12. For Nehru's letter to Chou En-lai of 16 November 1959, see SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

26⁴⁷ and the Note of November 4 in which some salient facts bearing on the situation had been mentioned. Premier Chou En-lai has stated in his letter that he would send a reply to this previous letter and Note of mine in the near future.

I have today sent a reply to Premier Chou En-lai⁴⁸ referring to the above facts and stating that I am sorry to find that he had based his claim on recent intrusions by Chinese personnel into parts of Indian territory. It is, in fact, these intrusions which had brought about the present situation and created apprehensions. I have further stated that I cannot accept the allegation that Indian forces had occupied any part of Chinese territory, or committed aggression at Kongka Pass or at Longju, where our established checkpost was attacked by Chinese troops.

Premier Chou En-lai in his letter has spoken of the "friendly manner" in which Indian personnel who were captured in the Chenmo Valley were treated. I have referred him again to the statement of Karam Singh about the treatment that he and his colleagues received while they were prisoners in the custody of the Chinese border forces. This statement clearly indicates the deplorable treatment to which the Indian prisoners were subjected.

Premier Chou En-lai had suggested that he and I should meet on December 26 so as to reach an agreement on the principles which are presumably to guide the officials on both sides in the discussion of details. I have repeated, what I have said previously, that I am always ready to meet and discuss with him the outstanding differences between our countries and explore the avenues of settlement. I have, however, pointed out that I do not see how we can reach an agreement on principles when there is such complete disagreement about the facts. I would prefer to wait for his promised reply to my letter of September 26 and our note of November 4 before we discuss what should be the next step. I have added that it is quite impossible for me to proceed to Rangoon or any other place within the next few days.

In my reply I have expressed my entire agreement with him to the sentiments which he had expressed in the last paragraph of his letter, to the effect that the principal concern of our two countries should be "with the programme of long-term peaceful construction to lift ourselves from our present state of back-wardness, and that we should not be parties to the increasing of tension between our two countries or in the world." India has welcomed the fact that there is some lowering of world tensions and that "the world situation is developing in a direction favourable to peace". It is for this reason, even apart

47. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 216-231.

48. See item 161.

from the imperative need to improve the relations between our two countries, that in spite of recent events, I have continually stressed the need for a peaceful settlement of our problems.

I might add that some days ago we asked our Ambassador in Peking to come here for consultations and that we expect him to be here in three or four days' time. Thank you.

V.K. Dhage: With your permission, Sir, may I say that the situation now seems to be rather very serious? Would the Prime Minister consider the feasibility of having a discussion on this situation now before we disperse? As I said previously, it is possible for us even to sit late at night. Let us have a discussion on this matter so that we may be able to assess the situation properly and know the mind of the Government.

D.P. Singh:⁴⁹ I think a new situation has arisen, in view of the reply which we have received from Mr. Chou En-lai. So, I would also associate myself with his suggestion that there should be a discussion of the situation which has arisen.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In this matter I am in your hands, in the hands of the House. This question was raised in the other House and I told them that it was for the House to decide or for the Speaker. I personally did not see the necessity for a discussion at this stage although normally I welcome discussions, because this is a stage where no new development has taken place, except of course the reiteration of certain positions, points of view. But I have no objection to a discussion. All that I would say is that so far as I am concerned, I am leaving Delhi day after tomorrow morning. We have only today and tomorrow. Tomorrow afternoon in the other House they have decided to have a discussion for two hours. That is the position, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: On the same subject?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir.

V.K. Dhage: We can take up the discussion either before that or even after that. I have no objection. I do not think that on our side anyone will have objection to sit even late. I think a discussion on this matter should be held in the House.

Ganga Sharan Sinha: Is it a fact that this letter from the Chinese Premier was released by the Chinese Embassy to the Press?

Jawaharlal Nehru: When I received Mr. Chou En-lai's letter—he had it delivered to our Ambassador in Peking, who telegraphed to us—in that letter there was a mention by Mr. Chou En-lai that after I had received this letter he would release it to the Press and it was, therefore, released by him at Peking.

Seeta Parmanand:⁵⁰ Would it be possible to have a joint sitting tomorrow after six?

Seeta Parmanand: Was it released before he received it or after?

Jawaharlal Nehru: After. I have made that clear.

Mr. Chairman: He said so. After he received it. What is it, Shrimati Seeta Parmanand?

Seeta Parmanand: Mr. Chairman, we may have a joint sitting of both Houses so that time could be saved.

Mr. Chairman: Joint sessions are provided only in case of conflict between the two Houses. I do not think there is any conflict.

Ganga Sharan Sinha: Is it the normal procedure that when the Prime Minister or a Government writes a letter to the other Government, that is released by the Embassy of that Government or the other Prime Minister who receives the letter? What is the normal procedure?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That has been done by us too. We did that in the case of our letter.

Jaswant Singh:⁵¹ Is the consent of the other party generally not taken in this matter, and may I know whether one party can release it without the consent of the other party? Just I want to know the general procedure, the diplomatic procedure.

50. Congress.

51. Independent.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Normally such letters are not published at all. Diplomatic correspondence cannot be carried on if letters are constantly being published. But recently chiefly because of the debates in this House and the other House and the desire of the Houses to know all that has happened we published all this correspondence in the White Papers and that is a continuation of that. Naturally we had to follow it up. We could not have debates here, proper debates, without information being given as to the latest development. Therefore, we have been publishing and they have been publishing and we cannot complain of their action in this matter. But all that we try to do is not to publish them before they are received by the other party.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Prime Minister, may I ask whether it would be possible for you to have a discussion here between eleven and one o'clock, suppose we started at ten tomorrow for the Question Hour?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir if that is your will.

Mr. Chairman: So, we meet tomorrow at ten. Then Question Hour will be over at eleven. Between eleven and one o'clock we will have discussion on this question.

V.K. Dhage: Thank you.

164. To Han Suyin: "A Many-Splendoured Thing"⁵²

December 21, 1959

Dear Han Suyin,

I have received two letters from you during the past few days—one addressed to "Your Excellency", the other to "Panditji". That anyhow is an improvement.

I sent you a brief note on November 30. I presume you receive it, although you do not mention it in either of your letters.

In your "Excellency" letter, you refer to many things but, about one matter, I should like to clear any misapprehension that you might have. Your coming here to see me did not in the slightest annoy or irritate me. In fact, it did me good and helped me to understand some aspects of this China-India problem. I

52. Letter to Han Suyin, Chinese-Belgian writer.

shall not discuss this matter in this letter because I find this kind of discussion does not help much. You say that recent events have led to the iron entering the souls of the Chinese and that their pride has been struck at, time and again. Unfortunately the same reaction is taking place in India and so we try to balance ourselves in between these strong emotional reactions, apart from the facts.

Did I upbraid you three years ago about your book "A Many-Splendoured Thing"? I do not remember what I said then, but obviously, if I ventured to criticize anything in it, it must have been because I thought it worthwhile talking to you more intimately than I might have done to others.

Thank you for your good wishes. May the New Year prove better for all of us than the one through which we have passed.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

165. To the Consultative Committee on External Affairs: New Map and Goa⁵³

Sino-Indian Border
Congress M.P.s Discussions
Authoritative Map to be Published

New Delhi,
December 21.

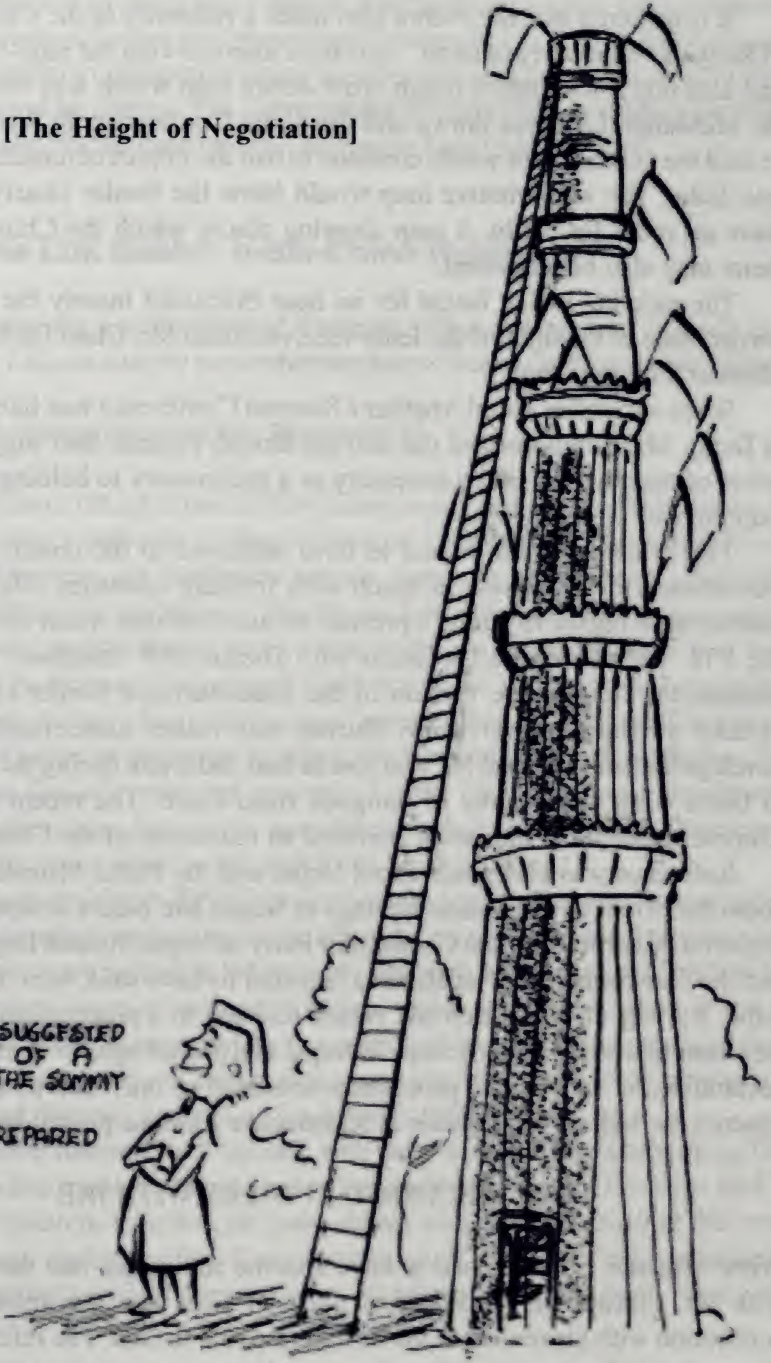
Prime Minister Nehru informed the members of the Consultative Committee on External Affairs of Parliament that the Government of India would shortly publish an authoritative map showing the Sino-Indian border.

Mr. Nehru said that India's position in respect of the border on NEFA side and on Ladakh side was unassailable being supported by maps, documents and treaties apart from tradition and custom. He assured members that in no case would India yield to the unjust and unreasonable claims of the Chinese on Indian territory as seen in the latest reply received from Premier Chou En-lai. He criticised the Chinese Premier for trying to link up the Ladakh border issue with the McMahon Line and said that these two things were separate. While India was in favour of negotiations he would certainly take all steps to safeguard her from further incursions.

53. From *The Hindu*, 22 December 1959.

[The Height of Negotiation]

DELHI IS SUGGESTED
AS VENUE OF A
MEET IN THE SUMMIT
SERIES —
WE ARE PREPARED



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 27 DECEMBER 1959

It is gathered that Mr. Nehru also made a reference to the Chinese edition of his book "Discovery of India" carrying a map showing the Sino-Indian border and said that it was only a rough artist-drawn map which was done long after the McMahon Line was drawn and the Simla Conference. In this connection, he said the Government would continue to ban the import of unauthorised maps into India. The authoritative map would show the border clearly and would leave no room for doubt. A map showing places which the Chinese claim as theirs may also be published.

The meeting which lasted for an hour discussed mainly the Sino-Indian border issue in the light of the letter received from Mr. Chou En-lai and Prime Minister's reply to that.

When a member asked whether a Summit Conference was likely to be held in Delhi, Mr. Nehru pointed out that the British Premier had suggested that a series of meetings might be necessary as a preliminary to holding the Summit Conference.

The Prime Minister is said to have indicated to the committee that the Government of India was in touch with friendly countries like Burma and Indonesia in regard to China's present attitude towards Asian countries, adds the PTI. China's border problem with Burma still remained and despite assurances, the Chinese version of the Sino-Burmese border claimed large chunks of Burmese territory. Burma was rather concerned about this development and General Ne Win and he had had a talk during the latter's visit to Delhi while on his way to Rangoon from Cairo. The recent trouble over Chinese nationals in Indonesia provided an indication of the Chinese attitude.

Reference was also made about Nepal and the Prime Minister was asked about the extent of anti-Indian feelings in Nepal. Mr. Nehru is reported to have deplored this attitude of the Communist Party in Nepal. By and large the people and the Government of Nepal, he is reported to have said, were friendly with India. By way of illustration Mr. Nehru referred to a procession organised by the Communists and other groups in Nepal as a protest against Prime Minister's declaration on Nepal. The procession consisted of only 200 people and they cheered the Indian Ambassador at Kathmandu when he passed by it.

GOA DISCUSSED IN TALKS WITH IKE

Prime Minister is understood to have told the committee that during his talks with Mr. Eisenhower, a casual mention of Goa was also made. It was in connection with his review of the Portuguese rule in Goa. The reference to Goa is reported to have arisen when the committee was discussing the citizenship rights of Goans who are in India. Mr. Nehru is said to have pointed out the

difficulties relating to the grant of Indian citizenship so long as they remained Portuguese citizens. Unless they renounced Portuguese citizenship and acquired Indian citizenship in the same manner as other foreigners act, the rules in this regard could not be altered. The Government of India did not wish to alter the rules at any rate till the case before The Hague Court was decided.

166. In the Lok Sabha: India-China Relations⁵⁴

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not exactly remember the date of our last debate in this House.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: 25th, 26th and 27th.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think it was in November, towards the end of November. A little before that, I had sent a letter to Premier Chou En-lai which the House knows. In that letter we had made certain proposals and we had a full and instructive debate in this House. The House had that letter before it and the whole situation, and the House was pleased to give its support, and if I may say with respect, its enthusiastic support, to the action we had taken in that matter.

Since then we have had a reply from Premier Chou En-lai, and I have sent a brief reply to him, to his letter. In effect, the new points for consideration are Premier Chou En-lai's letter and my reply. On the whole, however, the debate has proceeded more or less on the same lines as previously, though references have, no doubt, been made to Premier Chou En-lai's letter.

Hon. Member Acharya Kripalani complained or remarked that I was allergic to suggestions being made to me or criticism being made. I hope I am not, and that I am always very willing to listen to any suggestions or criticisms. Naturally, when a criticism means a reversal of policy, which I believe in, then, I find it somewhat difficult to accept, unless I am prepared to accept the reversal of that policy; it is not a question of minor changes or anything, but a basic reversal of the policy, and, therein, naturally, I have some difficulty.

Now I have listened, as I should, with very considerable attention to the various speeches made, and made rather long notes about what has been said. I shall not say much in regard to the many things said, because much of that was said, though no doubt justified from some point of view, was not particularly helpful in understanding the situation or what should be done. One can

54. 22 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 6709-6727.

understand that, but they are not helpful by themselves in finding any particular way out of the difficulty.

May I say that I entirely agree with Shri Jaipal Singh when he said that this matter should not be treated as a party issue? Of course not, it is not a party issue. Many things have been said by hon. Members opposite with which I am in hearty agreement; some things have been said by Members sitting with me on this side, with which I am in hearty disagreement, so that it is not a party issue at all; it is a national issue, and indeed, it is something more even than a national issue, because it impinges on all kinds of international issues, but certainly, so far as we are concerned, it is a national issue.

Now, let us be clear about certain basic factors, so that they need not be thought to be in doubt. We are committed, from every point of view, to defend our country, to preserve its integrity, to preserve its honour and self-respect. That is not a matter for argument, I thought. Opinions may differ as to how to do it. That is a different matter. But the basic thing is clear, and in doing that, in the ultimate analysis, almost any price has to be paid. One cannot proceed on the basis of barter, haggling and the tactics of the market-place, where a nation's honour and self-respect are concerned. That is clear. But when you come to the next step about what one should do, much has been argued about negotiation or war or something in between. I said the other day that if you really stop negotiations, the alternative is something which is either war or leading up to war, or, of course, it may be just sitting tight and doing nothing, which seems to me a very feeble way of meeting the situation.

Shri Jaipal Singh referred to what he considered the many intermediate or middle stages, such as, he said, South Africa or Portugal. Well, I would hardly have thought those instances helped this argument. In spite of all that has happened in South Africa, every year, we have put forward the proposal to negotiate with them in the United Nations, and it has been passed there by a considerable majority. It is South Africa that has refused to negotiate, the word may not be right, anyhow, to talk about these matters, which have created so much trouble there.

In regard to Portugal, we have always been willing to talk to Portugal; naturally, the talk has to be about the basic matters, not about some superficial matters. So, those examples are not very helpful.

Then, Acharya Kripalani mentioned economic sanctions. Another hon. Member talked about a punitive police action. Now, with all respect to them, I do not see how economic sanctions have the slightest effect on anybody in the present situation. We have very very little trade with China. We had some trade with Tibet which has dwindled chiefly because of Chinese activities on the other side. We may consider further as to whether we should continue it or stop

it or take another step in the economic sphere. That is a matter for consideration. One may do that, but it has no real effect on the situation. It is obvious.

As for the idea of a police action, I am rather surprised that the hon. Member who, he himself has reminded us, has been a gallant soldier, should put forward this idea of a police action. What exactly it means in this context is not clear to me. You can have a police action against some very very weak adversary where the police—the whole meaning is that the police can function there and get results. Whether the police is represented by some little army or not, essentially it is a police action against a small adversary. We do not take police action against a larger force of police, if you like to call it, or whatever it is. It is a misnomer. Let us not confuse ourselves.

Then I found in the speeches of many Members a desire to make it clear that they do not want war, but they suggested various other things. I have mentioned some. Acharya Kripalani asked: 'Why do you always talk about a world war? It may be a local war.' Yes, it may be, of course. But anyone studying the question in the context of wars today—possibly of wars—knows very well that local wars do not take place, are not likely to take place, between two great countries without developing into big wars and the big wars without developing possibly—not certainly—into a world war. I am merely trying to clarify these matters so that we may indulge in clear thinking. Merely in our resentment saying, as a hon. Member just said a little before me, that we must do this here, we must take Tibet or Tibet must be this—all that may be a pleasant thought, but it has no relation to reality.

Here are two countries, both strong in their respective ways, both huge, both—I say—incapable of being defeated by the other. It is quite absurd to imagine for anyone in China or elsewhere that China, however powerful she may be, is going to ultimately defeat India in case of war, I do not accept that, and I think China knows that too. It is equally absurd to imagine that India is going to defeat China in a great war.

Braj Raj Singh: We never wanted it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course. Then why talk about it?

Braj Raj Singh: Nobody is talking about it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If you do not want it, why talk about it? If you say 'We do not talk about that thing', then I would say: Do not talk things that lead up to it. One has to be logical about this. We admit it. It is quite clear. First of all, for some things a country pays—it does not count the cost. If its honour, self-

respect and freedom are involved, no cost is too great. It is better to perish in the attempt than to submit or surrender. That is the basis of our thinking—and I hope of this House and our people.

Having said that, it does not mean that we should give up thinking in regard to the steps that we take in order to justify whatever our position may be. If we have to think of problems of war we have very much to think of what the views of experts may be, I do not mean to say that experts are only people wearing the military uniform. Civilians like Acharya Kripalani may become experts in military matters; for aught I know he may be able to give an opinion about what should be done. (Interruption)

Normally, when one talks about war or even police action one does so after logically thinking as to what those steps should be one after the other. What is more important and what every General has to think is this. A General has to forget himself for a while and think that he is the enemy's General and what he will do. Then he should devise his policy. That is the way to think. One cannot imagine any General who has any experience at all imagining that he has a clear field and the other fellow is a fool and he will run away before him. That does not happen in war or in any circumstances like this. Everyone thinks about these matters in the strictest practical way. In addition to that he may think in an idealistic way. I hope we think in both ways, idealistic and practical. But if you give up one of them it will be unfortunate. But if you give up both idealism and practicality then where are we? There is no anchorage to hold on to.

As I said, apart from strong expressions of opinion etc., broadly speaking, I believe that there is a very large unanimity of opinion in this House on this issue. It may be expressed differently with greater emphasis or less emphasis. There is a large unanimity of opinion about this matter, even though some people may differ here and there about the steps to be taken, the timing of it.

Much has been said about timing. Acharya Kripalani is apprehensive that time may run against us and the Chinese authorities may consolidate their position in these areas. In fact he used the word 'colonise them'. I do not know what the Chinese may or may not do. But as Raja Mahendra Pratap managed to say before he sat down—and he speaks with experience having, I believe, wandered about some of these territories—it is not a particularly easy matter to colonise, or, if I may say so with all respect to Dr. Ram Subhag Singh—to industrialise these territories.

Ram Subhag Singh: But they have three ton trucks in the Kongka Pass.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is not colonising. I do not know what modern science may not do in future. I cannot say. I am merely referring to the present, that for

the last 2,000 or 3,000 years nobody has succeeded in that in Ladakh. I am talking about Ladakh for the moment because there are different areas. At the present moment, in all this wide area, I think, possibly one or two tiny villages or a few huts are there. Otherwise, there is no inhabitant.

In summer some shepherds came to graze their sheep and they walk away in winter. We are now—I need not remind hon. Members—in winter. It is exceedingly difficult except for some daring explorers or that type of persons to function with ease in those territories. Nobody lives there. I do not deny the possibility of, with great effort, creating conditions for people to live there. They live there not by producing anything there because the territory is not that way—for thousands of years it has been like that. If it is going to be changed by scientific effort, that will take a very considerable time. It does not change suddenly like this.

Hem Barua: This oft repeated statement of uninhabited areas where only shepherds go to graze their sheep has given encouragement to the Chinese...(Interruptions) It has been repeated often.

Rajendra Singh: It only substantiates the charge against you.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was talking about the colonisation of these territories. I am merely pointing this out as Raja Mahendra Pratap wanted to do. This may be done—I do not know—with the resources of people but it is not a practical proposition. I am talking about the time element. The hon. Member has rightly pointed out that a road has been built. Mr. Chou En-lai has in his letter referred to this road being built with 3,000 civilian personnel and all that from 1955-57. That is perfectly true. The House knows that—the road that was built. I am not talking about the subsequent developments. Mr. Chou En-lai's statement presumably refers to this road through Aksai Chin area; that is perfectly true. In that corner of Ladakh that road was built and for two years or so, we knew nothing about it. It is perfectly true; it may be our fault. We knew nothing about it. Whatever has happened in Ladakh, so far as we know, apart from the Aksai Chin area, the wide area that they have transgressed has been done mostly in the last summer—this last summer—as part of the continuation of their efforts to suppress the Tibetan revolt. I cannot say of any corner but broadly, this, I think, is true. I am merely stating the facts and not trying to answer any argument. So we come back to this. Again, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh made it clear that he did not want a ship-building yard in these areas.

Ram Subhag Singh:⁵⁵ That is true. But that can be done in this age of science when Moscow has been joined to the five seas and Alaska and Siberia have been equally well developed.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Quite so. I happen to have been to Siberia and know some little things about it. I do not know what in this age of atomic energy can be done or what might not be done. But take the NEFA area. I think that we have done a rather good piece of work in the NEFA area, an area in which the British failed to do anything at all for decades and decades. They just failed completely. We have done a good piece of work not only in spreading our administration there but in communications, in schools, hospitals, agriculture etc. among the people who are very difficult to handle. That was done and that no doubt will continue.

We want those areas to develop and naturally we expect them to develop in the real industrial sense. It is far better to develop industries where they can easily develop than across mountains and other places where it is a much harder task but those areas should develop in that sense and may be, where we find good minerals, etc. they will certainly have to be developed and exploited.

But the main thing is this. If you do not go back to the past which we had discussed so often, what is to be done in the present?

Now, I repeat that whether we talk about negotiation or whatever else we may talk about. It is clear, and I thought there would be no doubt in any hon. Member's mind, that any kind of further step that the Chinese may take will obviously be resisted wherever it may be—that is obvious—to the best of our ability.

Rajendra Singh: What about the places that are still in the hands of the Chinese?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because Shri Vajpayee put me a straight question I am giving him this answer that, as a matter of fact, that has been our policy—whether it was fully and properly implemented or not is a different matter. That policy has not changed. And, as a matter of fact, in NEFA, of course, apart from that very tiny enclave of about three or four miles, Longju, it is because of our strength there and our determination to resist that we have prevented their entry into

55. Congress.

NEFA except, as I said, in Longju. In all these areas, whether it is the border, Uttar Pradesh or Himachal Pradesh or Punjab we have prevented their entry and we will prevent it.

Now the real question is that difficulties have arisen in regard to this fairly large area in eastern Ladakh which, as I said, apart from the Aksai Chin area, they have entered mostly during the last summer. It may be said, rightly that we should have been in a position to prevent that. It is a difficult task, but it may be that if we had directed all our attention to it previously it might have been done. I do not wish to argue that point. Anyhow, here is this present position and this present position can be resolved basically in two ways: one is by an attempt at negotiation yielding some kind of fruitful results, a peaceful settlement, and the other is by compulsion and coercion which may be less than war or war itself. Any attempt at compulsion or coercion is really—in these circumstances economic sanctions do not count—if not war, call it police action if you like, that is, the use of armed people. Now, when hon. Members refer to this, no doubt they have to bear in mind that there are armed people on the other side too; it is not a one way traffic. Therefore, if one has to take that, principles apart, one has to do so in favourable circumstances when one thinks that it is likely to yield substantial results. One does not do this merely in a huff or because one is angry. That may lead to something the opposite of what one desires.

Therefore, while one tries to settle it always by negotiation, one at the same time, strengthens oneself to deal with any situation that might arise or has arisen. These are normal platitudes—the House will forgive me for repeating them, but I want a little clear thinking. On this issue. We follow both these policies. We tried to negotiate because that is not only right but inevitable and I would submit that no country in the wide world would not negotiate, does not matter how much they are opposed to each other. If they are dead opposed to each other, even then they talk. We have had in recent months, or may be in the last year, very serious incidents between powerful countries like the Soviet Union and the United States of America—shooting down bombers, aircraft, etc. Well, they have talked about it. They have not declared war. They have talked about it; settled it and sometimes not settled it; it is still there unsettled. Sometimes they have given compensation, or whatever it is. But countries, whatever the situation may be, always negotiate. It is inevitable in international affairs. Otherwise, there will be a complete law of the jungle. You may say that one party is functioning as if it was the law of the jungle. It may be. It is deplorable and one should naturally do what one can to stop that. But one negotiates even then. Negotiation always carries weight if there is strength behind it. A weak country or a weak person cannot negotiate at all. Therefore,

strength is an essential factor. The building up of strength, the addition to your strength, the addition to your strength, is obvious. It has to be done.

Then, hon. Members might ask, "What will you do if your negotiation does not yield results?" I cannot, and it would not be right for me now, to lay down what one does; but, as I said, in any event, we have to build up strength to meet such contingencies at a suitable moment. For us to say, as some hon. Members hinted at, that "Do not talk to them; do not negotiate", is a thing which, I would venture to say, will not be understood by any country in the wide world.

The hon. Member, Acharya Kripalani, seems to think that this is the fault of our publicity. Countries gather information, and their foreign offices, even if we are at fault, do keep themselves informed about these matters. They are interested in a matter of this kind. It has excited world-wide interest naturally because of the possibilities in it; because of the potentialities of big scale trouble in it. Every country has watched it, studied it; we have helped them to study it and all that. If those countries do not immediately accept, let us say, Acharya Kripalani's view-point on it, it is not necessarily true that we are at fault. It may be that Acharya Kripalani's viewpoint may be at fault. It may be.

Acharya Kripalani: If you are satisfied with your publicity, I have no objection.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no. It is not a question of my being satisfied. One seems to imagine that if we shout loudly enough about what we feel the other party or other country will agree to it! Publicity goes a very small way in these matters. It really consists, as far as possible, in placing the material. In judging of any matter outside India—many matters come up—do we decide, because somebody's publicity hits us on the head, in his favour? We judge these things from our own sources and our own information as to what has happened in Europe or South America or Africa or Asia or South-East Asia. The countries have their ambassadors, ministers, agents of publicity, and what not, to get information. They judge from them. We may fail completely in some small matter; this may happen if there is a riot somewhere here; but in big matters concerning two countries, other countries are deeply interested and are very well informed. They have to be. They cannot afford to be not fully informed about matters like this between two great countries like India and China. They may be right or wrong. That is a different matter. But they attempt to keep themselves informed and we attempt to keep ourselves informed too. I have no doubt the other country also keeps them informed. There it is.

To imagine that what we think is inevitably a hundred per cent right is not

necessarily correct. Sometimes we may be a little wrong too. We are human beings subject to error, just like others are. I think it comes in the way of clear thinking. If we decide and if we have come to the conclusion, that we are a hundred per cent, in the right, no further thinking is required. Only some kind of strong action is necessary. Action, or rather the capacity for action, is always necessary, because without that, words do not count. But that action must think of the consequences and every action that is indulged in surely is indulged in with a view to achieve results. To indulge in action not to achieve results obviously has no good result itself. So, these factors have to be considered.

Nath Pai: May I ask, is it not that we are 100 per cent right? This is casting an aspersion and weakening our case when he indicates that there is one degree of doubt regarding our basic rights. He has made the statement that we are not 100 per cent right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That depends on, right in regard to what?

Nath Pai: Our rights in Ladakh, regarding the border.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think we are in the right, very much so. We have a strong case.

Nath Pai: Is it not 100 per cent, right?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He should not ask me these questions, which it is not proper for me to deal with in these circumstances. I am prepared to discuss this matter with the hon. Member, because these matters are complicated matters. As I have told you, we have been discussing in regard to two or three areas in dispute with the old Tibetan Government. This has been going on; old standing disputes have gone on.

There are various factors to be considered. I believe our case is a very strong one; I have no doubt about it, but I can assure you that the Chinese believe that their case is a strong one. They say so, whatever they believe.

Rajendra Singh: They are wrong.

Vajpayee: Why should the Prime Minister say that the Chinese say so? Let the Chinese say what they want.

Rajendra Singh: The Prime Minister is in doubt about our case. That is

why he is saying like this.

Tyagi: The Prime Minister knows what he talks.

Raghunath Singh: That shows his vigilance.

Jawaharlal Nehru: When you discuss the border of any country, wherever it may be, which has historical backgrounds, all kinds of past incidents are brought up, which are discussed. I think the Chinese case is a very weak one. They go back, which is very wrong, I think, to past periods of history. That is a different matter. But whatever it is, if you have to deal with it, you have to answer it. My point is I cannot deal with them by saying, "All that you say does not require an answer". We are right, but that is not the way. We may be right 100 per cent, or 99 per cent, but I have to answer their case, as I insist that they should answer mine, otherwise, there can be no dealings at all. Otherwise, you decide in an armed way or coercive way—they or we—and whichever has the longer lathi possibly produces a greater effect. The whole thing cannot be dealt with in this easygoing way, as if it does not require any argument. It does require argument to convince them, to convince the other countries and all that.

Acharya Kripalani himself referred to some foreign countries. They are no fools—those people; they are friends; yet, they have argued this matter in a variety of ways.

There is so much said about the McMahon line and we have strongly stressed our case. I have not a shadow of doubt in my mind that not only the McMahon line is right from our point of view, but I would go further and say that before the McMahon line was made, the McMahon line itself was the laying down of something that existed before it; that is, a justification of the traditional border there. It is not the McMahon line that created the border. It is only after a conflict it was laid down. That is so. Take Ladakh. The history of Ladakh, the present history of Ladakh goes back to 1842 when after war between the ruler of Ladakh, Maharajah Gulab Singh, and the ruler of Tibet, both being feudatories of others—the ruler of Tibet being the feudatory of the Emperor of China and the ruler of Ladakh being the feudatory of the ruler of Punjab at that time—the war between them ended ultimately in the victory of Gulab Singh's forces, and that resulted in a treaty, acknowledging that Ladakh was part of Kashmir State territory. Later this area, this boundary, was not demarcated on the ground, but laid down in maps by some English surveyors.

Now I can understand some dispute being raised about some country here and there. Of course, it is not marked, and its territory is not inhabited. There is no administration, no payment of tax, no proofs—the only proof is travellers'

accounts the normal thing that has been understood by people who pass that way and maps; these are the two or three ways of proving these things. So that, the question may arise about minor points here and there, but the major point is the basic boundary of Ladakh which was laid down 112 years ago, not today. It is not marked there; it is marked in maps.

Now, some maps differ. There is no doubt about it. Maps differ, travellers' accounts differ and travellers' books differ, and all these matters can be argued about. One cannot say that we will not talk about these matters. But the basic thing is not about those border troubles, but this rather massive infiltration into Ladakh which has chiefly taken place, to the best of my knowledge, during the last summer, apart from the Aksai Chin area.

The argument—if it is raised—that “we are here and we have taken possession of this territory; therefore, it is ours” of course, is an utterly wrong argument. The sovereignty of a country does not change because somebody comes and sits in a corner of it. It is obvious it cannot. No country has an army spread out all along its borders to protect it from people coming in. Anybody can come in, but the sovereignty of that country remains over that territory, even though some people may sit on a little part of it.

Therefore, if I may say so the basic point today is not, I submit, that we should not negotiate; let us consider that, because one has always to negotiate, and to say that negotiations will not bear fruit, if I may say so, has no relevance in this matter. Even if it did not bear fruit, even then you will have to negotiate, because that is a way of procedure. The moment you refuse to do so, you are wrong before the world, and the world will think you are afraid of negotiation; you are afraid of that. They will not accept your word for it—you are afraid of talking to the other parties; that is the impression created. But the negotiation has some value only if it is backed by strength.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: On a point of order. As an elderly man, I say: let us also negotiate amongst ourselves. It is 6.30 and let us adjourn.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In the final analysis, it comes to this that we must build up our strength and, as I have said previously—I think on the last occasion—this is not a matter which we can dispose off by a discussion. It may take a few months or a year or more.

Whatever the issue of this is, the issue, of this matter may come or may not come in a few months or so, I do not know, but what I am saying is that the situation that has arisen on our borders is of such historical significance from a long-term point of view. India and China, these two great countries, for the first time face each other on a long border which is a live border, and even if we are

friends, even then, we have a live and dangerous border; if we are not friends, then it is worse. Therefore, this tremendous historical development is taking place in Asia affecting not only India and China, but all the countries of Asia, necessitating, quite apart from other developments, the building up of our strength. Then we can consider using it whenever it is necessary.

Building up of our strength means certainly defence forces and the defence apparatus, but remember that defence means today industrial strength. It is industry that gives real strength. So, while we keep our Army etc., as strong as we can make it and as well-equipped as possible, the real basis, the real strength, will come from rapid industrialisation.

We come back really not only to industrialization; it means better agriculture, better industry, in order to meet these crises, because it is only then that countries become strong. That is how other countries are strong today. The so-called Great Powers or the middling Powers are strong because they have become a modernized State, because they take advantage of the modern methods which increase their production, give them strength, all kinds of things. Therefore, the basic thing is that we become a modern State, not remain in a backward condition economically and socially.

These are the basic things that we have to face, and this is a challenge to the country, not a challenge in the present of course which we have to meet, but much more so a challenge for the future, because ultimately unless proper balances are created in Asia, all our wishes may not lead us to what we want to have.

Therefore, I would beg this House to look at this matter from this wider point of view as well as from the immediate danger point of view, and to consider it not a party matter, but a national issue of far-reaching consequences.

Braj Raj Singh: Acharya Kripalani has to reply.

Mr. Speaker: The discussion has been allowed under rules 193 and 195. It is specifically noted in rule 195 that there is no motion and no voting shall be taken, and there is no right of reply. I am sorry.

167. In the Rajya Sabha: India-China Relations⁵⁶

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Chairman, I have always welcomed discussions on foreign affairs in this House and profited by them. On this occasion I was somewhat reluctant for a discussion, though I bowed to the wishes of the House and your wishes, Sir, because I felt that having regard to the present situation, nothing new, so far as discussion is concerned, had really emerged and it would be rather an odd course of events or precedent to establish that whenever I send a letter there is to be a discussion and whenever I receive a letter there is to be a discussion. As a matter of fact, such letters are normally not published. But owing to the peculiar circumstances of the case here, we have decided, and I think rightly, to place all correspondence that takes place before Parliament and the public. And yet it is obvious that diplomatic correspondence can hardly go very far, if this took place and if it is continually discussed in public. Some new method of diplomacy will have to be evolved. That was my difficulty, not of keeping back any facts from this House or the country, because when we place all our cards on the table and all our letters, then there is nothing hidden, and if we are to proceed through diplomatic means, they have to be somewhat different from the procedure often adopted in a debate. The facts may be the same, the course of events may be the same. As Mr. Dahyabhai Patel⁵⁷ said, and no doubt, others have said or realised, the issues before us are of the highest moment and importance and require not only great effort of the mind, but if I may say so, other efforts too. It is a situation which, as was pointed out in the last debate here, is a new situation in India's history of two thousand years. It is not some mere border incident that has happened, although border incidents have happened. It is not something which can be brushed away by a little strong language as our friend from Ladakh just used. It is a conflict between two of the biggest nations of Asia coming up face to face on a long border after thousands of years of history. Therefore, we have always to keep in mind where we are and what we can do and what we will have to do. At the same time, keeping in mind all this does not mean that we should approach this question with an apprehension of not being able to do much or with weakness. I do not believe in that. But weakness or strength comes from many things and in many ways. It is not merely a question of strong resolutions that we may pass. There is the military test of weakness or strength. There is the industrial test of weakness or strength, and there is the

56. Motion, 22 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 3460-3471.

57. MJP.

test of the morale of the people, the discipline of the people. All these are tests and we are going to be tested in every way. And whatever may be the outcome in the next few weeks or few months or whatever the period might be of these border troubles, this testing will continue for years to come, I should like this House to realise this. Now, I do not understand when hon. Members ask: "How long are we going to put up with this kind of thing?" What exactly does this kind of thing mean? I do not understand it, I say, as long as the circumstances require it. It may be a week, a year, ten years or a hundred years, because you cannot change all these factors that go to make world changes. I use the words "hundred years" in a metaphorical sense. It may happen. But the point is the whole outlook has to be fitted in into the enormous changes that are taking place in the world.

Here are two mighty nations of the Western world—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—opposed to each other in many ways, fearful of each other, arming against each other and yet holding their hands realising the consequences of not holding their hands realising the consequences that once they let loose the dogs of war, nobody can stop them. In strength or military might, neither India nor China can come up anywhere near those tremendously powerful nations but we are big nations, strong nations, determined nations and each nation is having its own strong sense of self-respect and honour. If we honour, as we do, our own self-respect and are going to stand by it whatever happens, let us remember that China is not a small or a mean country. It has also a strong idea of its self-respect and honour and let us not throw words which without doing us any good do a lot of harm by attacking the self-respect of a country. This is quite apart from what they may have done or we may do. Of course, we have to talk warily as we have to act warily but with strength. Here this position has arisen due, undoubtedly, to certain activities, advances, and I think, aggression by the Chinese authorities in Ladakh chiefly and a little bit in NEFA. Now, there is a history behind it which can be traced to some extent from the White Paper that had been circulated, the correspondence, etc., and we can try to understand and find out what has happened more or less and what might take place but again, I would say, behind all this are bigger and more historical changes that are taking place in the face of history. Two revolutions come into contact, the Chinese revolution and the Indian revolution. They are of different types but nevertheless revolutions which have changed the face of these countries and which go on changing them, maybe in somewhat different ways and it is a major fact of history not only of India and China but of Asia and the world that these two revolutions come across each other on a wide field. That is the problem before us which cannot be dealt with by merely getting angry or petulant about it. Let us be angry by all means but let us think

as to how we can deal with this matter. We cannot, of course lay down every step because each step has to be conditioned by events, each step has to be conditioned by new circumstances, but broadly speaking one can lay down and one can prepare for it so far as one can, because whatever step we may take can only be successful in so far as it is backed by strength and a people's will and determination to shoulder the burdens of that step. Each step involves burdens and each step involves grave difficulties for the country. When there is a conflict between two countries big or small, there are, broadly speaking, two ways of dealing with it. The normal way which every country follows till something else happens is the diplomatic way, by diplomacy of correspondence, diplomacy of personal meetings and discussion. The moment any country renounces the diplomatic way, there is no other way except war. There may be perhaps a middle way of nothing happening, just sitting at home and being angered with each other, but the moment you say that you will not have the diplomatic way, it means that you close the door of meetings, of talking and of correspondence. There it is and then the other forces come into play. It may be a way or it may be, for the moment, not doing anything if you like, but a situation which drifts towards war. I should like to know what other third way there is. That is one point to be realised when people talk about: "How long are we to wait?" I say, you will have to wait as long as you have to wait. I cannot measure that time and I cannot limit it. Do we deal with a situation like this, or does China deal with a situation like this by issuing an ultimatum to India "Do this" or "Do that"? Is India going to deal with a situation like this by issuing an ultimatum to China? Think of the meaning of these words and the consequences that lie behind those words. It means shutting the door with no other way open except the way of war. Now, all of us want to avoid war, I presume all of us, maybe not some but let us realise that this imagining that one can have a little scrap here and a little scrap there and then just adjust with the other party is rather infantile thing. Two great nations do not have little scraps and then frighten each other by scraps. Scraps grow. In fact, the chief difficulty at the present moment which the House faces and the country is angered at is, as everyone knows, because scraps have occurred. It is not our fault, maybe, but it does not matter; the point is it is the scraps that rouse passions and if there are a few more scraps, the period of small scraps will end and the period of big scraps will end and other things will come in. One thing leads to another. One has to look into this not only from the context of our border and of two mighty countries coming into conflict, but its consequences elsewhere, what will happen. I am being perfectly frank with this House which normally a person in my position should not be, but I think that we should be frank with each other and not lose ourselves in fine phrases. Any kind of warlike development between India and China will

be an indefinite war because we will never give in and they will never give in. Realise that. It is not like what the hon. Member from Kashmir said, "Go and teach them a lesson. They will then behave". It is amazing, and this kind of approach, I am sorry to use the word, is rather infantile. It means that throughout our life we will be warring and warring because India will not give in. Are we going to allow China to conquer India, or will they allow themselves to be conquered? All these facts come up. Have you thought of them? Of course, if they try to push into India, naturally we have to fight and fight regardless of the time taken; it may be a few years or a hundred years. That is a different matter and we have to fight because there is no choice left. From our side or from their side, in bringing this decision about one thinks not once but many times before doing it. When there is no escape from it, well there is no escape from it. Therefore, one tries naturally the way of peaceful settlement. We have been talking about these things not only in our case but in the case of every quarrel in the wide world. We have talked about this in regard to big international issues and we still go on talking about it. Was that meant for others only, this talk that we indulged in, and was not to be applied to our own case when it came? That would be a strange commentary on what we say and what we do when faced with a difficult situation. Therefore, it is inevitable that we should—call it what you like—negotiate, deal with this question diplomatically, deal with it by correspondence, by meeting when necessary, because in such a matter it is far more important to get results if results are obtainable than to allow some kind of false prestige to come in and refuse to talk. That is not becoming when major issues are at stake involving the future destiny of a country, of hundreds of millions of people, and I should say quite frankly that in this letter which we have been discussing—the letter of Premier Chou En-lai—there is, so far as facts are concerned, no giving in. It is a reiteration, repetition and reaffirmation of their claims and yet there is one thing in it which I welcome, whatever the reason for it may be, and that is, as I see it, certainly a strong desire to meet and discuss. There is that and I welcome it, although I must say I do not understand how Premier Chou En-lai expected me within four or five days or a week to be able to meet him in a third country. It seems rather odd to me but the fact remains that there is that and whatever the reason behind that may be—some people may say there is a special motive behind that; it does not matter. Maybe, but the point is that throughout that letter this point is brought out—so far as I am concerned, whenever the time comes, whenever it is suitable, I shall avail myself of that opportunity because the issues are too serious for any other course to be adopted. That is the broad approach to this question.

We have sent a reply to Premier Chou En-lai which has not been published but in fact I had given the substance to this House yesterday, because I wanted

it to reach Premier Chou En-lai before it is published. It will be published in a day or two, perhaps two or three days.

Now, I think in the last two or three letters that we have sent we have stated our case, I won't say in all its details but broadly they have been stated and this House should realise that merely repetition or strong repetition of certain phrases does not make a case when you are dealing with international matters, just as the Chinese Government should realise that their mere repetition of strong phrases does not make a case for them. A case is something different whether it is looked at from constitutional, legal, historical, geographical or other points of view, usage etc. We have broadly stated our case; it is a good case and I think the facts and the history behind it and all that are very much in our favour. But it has to be dealt with in that level. If I or the Chinese Government merely deal with it at a level of hurling strong speeches at each other or ultimatums, well, then there is no discretion. Then we enter into a field of conflict which from a merely verbal conflict may go on to physical conflict and from a small physical conflict to a big physical conflict and so on and so forth. All these step-by-step consequences come.

So I have ventured to place these various considerations before the House. I am grateful to the House for their kind expressions of confidence in the policy we are pursuing and their assurance to support this policy to the hilt. Of course without that faith and confidence and assurance, I could do little; nobody could do anything. In such a grave matter we require the full direction and confidence of Parliament and of the people and we have to tread the straight and narrow path of building up strength as soon as and as rapidly as we can in all ways, always also restraining ourselves from doing the wrong thing which will bring about wrong and evil results which may become irretrievable. It is now a difficult position for anyone or for any country just as the world in the last few years has lived—not under a balance of strength or balance of power but it has lived—under a balance of terror. That has been the state of the world. These great mighty countries, mightier than any country the world has ever seen, have lived in a state of terror of each other—the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb and all that—and in spite of their anger and passion and disgust of each other, yet they have restrained themselves because they knew the consequences of not restraining themselves. And here now we see this great attempt being made by two of the most powerful nations in the world somehow or other to find a way out of life under this terror, a way of peace which will not come quickly. It will take time. It is not a question of a meeting, call it summit meeting or whatever you like. Even now they envisage a succession of summit meetings, but it is by far the most hopeful sign the world has seen in the last ten years, this meeting of people who have been rivals and who have been opponents trying and coming

together to find a way out and that way out is not merely something that will apply to them or something that will apply only to Europe. Obviously in the circumstances as they exist, it will apply to the wide world directly in some places, indirectly to others if tension goes down. Now, even in an extreme case like that, the House will see how countries have functioned even when they are full of passion and anger and strength and all that; yet they have restrained themselves realising the consequences. Are we not to show even that much restraint here and not think of the consequences of this or that action and to become impatient and say, we cannot wait? Well, if we cannot wait, what do we do? I do not know what anyone has in mind when he says, 'I cannot wait; something must be done'. And I should like that aspect to be developed as to what should be done. Mere anger I can understand and I should like that anger to be translated into strength-giving elements in the country. That I can understand. Of course we have to build up strength—that is the basis of it—in every way; as I said not only in the military way but even more so in the industrial way, and this strength has to do far more than the sword or the small gun. It is the industrial machine behind it that counts and above all it is the strength of the morale of the nation which counts, a nation which will not surrender to evil, surrender to invasion, surrender to any threat and stand up with head high whatever happens. That is the thing we build up meanwhile always trying to find a way out of the deadlock, to find a solution consonant with the integrity and self-respect of the country—because anything which goes against self-respect should be ruled out of course—at the same time remembering not to say or do things which make it difficult for the door to remain open which put the other side—not a weak side but a powerful side—concerned also angry and thinking,—wrongly you may think but rightly according to their thinking—that they are being insulted and all that. It is a very dangerous thing when the iron enters the soul of a nation. In war time it enters it and then they go ahead simply motivated by hatred and anger and a desire to destroy. It is a dangerous thing and till it works itself out in terrible destruction; well, the war proceeds—somebody is defeated or nobody is defeated—whatever may happen.

Now, I should like some difference, some distinction, to be made in India between what I would call a grim determination to preserve our freedom, our integrity, our honour and self-respect because there can be—I entirely agree with one hon. Member—no bargaining about these things, it is true, and at the same time avoiding that iron entering into our souls and our saying something or doing something which makes the iron enter into the other party's soul. Then a situation is created out of which there is no way out, except dreadful conflict, indefinite conflict, uncertain conflict, spreading possibly to other countries, spreading possibly all over the world. These are serious possibilities

which may come about by some action of ours or China's or somebody else's. We feel wronged by China. I feel that the way they have acted has been wrong and unfair to us. I am not for the moment going—it is up to the House and hon. Members—into the question of how far we have been at fault, our Government here in the past. But we cannot go on repeatedly discussing the past. We have to discuss the present and the future. And in the future the only two courses open to us are to strengthen ourselves in all these ways that I have mentioned and at the same time to try our best by friendly approaches, dignified and friendly approaches, to find a way by settlement.

Now, sometimes Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, sometimes others talk about the “Bhai-bhai” approach. I really do not understand what this criticism means. I hope that our approach to every country will be a “Bhai-bhai” approach. I am very glad that in regard to China it was a “Bhai-bhai” approach. What does it mean? I fear the significance of the words is not realised. It is a very common thing in India, a friendly way of approach. Each country has its own way of approach. It is not a bad approach. There is nothing derogatory about it. And this “Bhai-bhai” has been used for almost every country from which people have come here. We may have used it more for some countries, because they took it more, and for some less, and it is quite a right approach. That does not mean, of course, that our eyes are closed, that we surrender anything that we value. That, of course, is wrong. More especially while Governments deal with each other, the people's approach towards another people should always be friendly and they should not consider the people of the other country enemies, even though we are in conflict with the Government. Surely even in the days of our national struggle, the lesson we learnt was to fight against imperialism, British imperialism, and not against the British. I am merely mentioning this in passing, because I am anxious that the resentment that there is in India and which has been caused rightfully and justly should be directed into right channels of strength to build up, because it is a matter of our survival, not of phrase and of not being able to wait or not wait. It is a matter of India's survival. That is the question we have to face. It is a big question. It is not a border issue. Of course, there is the border issue. We shall deal with it to the best of our ability, but behind that border issue stretches out this future which might be and ought to be a good future for us and which might also be a dreadful future by countries fighting for survival. So, it is in this context that I would beg of this House to consider these matters and deal with them and even advise us.

Now, I am not dealing with Premier Chou En-lai's letter. But there is one particular matter which I should like to correct. First of all, may I point out—I think it was Diwan Chaman Lall who said something about it—that the Chinese have agreed to withdraw from Longju. Yes, but they have made conditions.

There are conditions attached to that. You withdraw from somewhere else. So, it is not simply a case of agreeing to withdraw. You withdraw from places in the U.P. borders Himachal Pradesh and several other things. It is not such a simple thing. Now, they have caught us in a small matter in regard to a name. They have pulled us up. They have caught us in an error. In Ladakh, in the papers you might have seen, there is this question of a place called Pulingsumdo. Now, we have got mixed up. It was an error in one of our letters between two places—Pulingsumdo and Pulamsumda.⁵⁸ And they have caught us in that mistake in this last letter. No doubt you did not know anything about it and hon. Members could not judge. They have said with great force that this place you have mentioned is in our territory. Well, it is undoubtedly. It was a misprint or error. It is a place twenty miles away. This Pulamsumda is in our territory. So, that is true.

May I express my gratitude, again, to the hon. Members for the confidence they have reposed in the policy we are pursuing. Thank you, Sir.

168. To MEA: Inviting Chinese Professors to Santiniketan⁵⁹

I had a talk with the Vice-Chancellor today.⁶⁰ He agreed with me that we had better go slow about inviting Professors from China for Viswa-Bharati.

2. Later I had a fairly long talk with Professor Tan Yun Shan, who has recently come back from China. He gave me a letter which I enclose. This

58. Nehru wrote to Chou En-lai on 26 September 1959 as follows: "Premier Chou En-lai states that there have been historical disputes regarding many places in the sector of the boundary between Ladakh and Nepal, and gives as an example the area of Sang and Tsungsha, south-west of Tsaparang Dzong in Tibet. In fact this is the only area in regard to which the Chinese authorities have raised a dispute. Sang is Jadhag village, Tsungsha is Nilang village and Tsaparang Dzong is the district headquarters in this part of Tibet. The Chinese Premier accuses India of having invaded and occupied Puling-Sumdo that is Pulam Sumda, a village in the Nilang-Jadhag area." See para F in "A Note on the Border Disputes," *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged between the Governments of India and China, September-November 1959 and a Note on the Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India. White Paper No. II* (Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, n.d.) [1959], pp. 48-49.

59. Note to N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt, 23 December 1959, Santiniketan.

60. This note was in response to Subimal Dutt's query on 18 December 1959 to Nehru on the proposed invitation by K.C. Chaudhuri, former Vice Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, to two Visiting Professors from Peking University. Dutt had discussed the matter with Parthasarathy and awaited further instructions from Nehru.

deals with his conversations with Premier Chou En-lai and others.

3. He told me that Premier Chou En-lai had tried to explain to him the Chinese viewpoints in regard to the border etc. In particular, he had said that when he (the Premier) had spoken about the status quo on the border, he had meant the McMahon Line. Further, when Premier Chou En-lai had talked about the Dalai Lama being under duress in India, he had not meant that the Government of India was keeping him under duress. What he had meant was that his own colleagues from Tibet, who acted as advisers, were doing so.

4. Professor Tan then spoke to me about Cheena Bhavana at Santiniketan. He was anxious to raise standards here upto the PhD for the teaching of Chinese. For this purpose, it was necessary to get high class Visiting Professors from China. He said that he would like three Professors: (1) for Chinese Literature, ancient and modern; (2) Sino-Indian studies and (3) Buddhist studies, especially dealing with Chinese Mahayana.

5. Professor Tan mentioned two professors, both of Peking University now, whom he had in mind. One was Dr. Chou-ta Fu (I am not sure of the spelling of the name). This gentleman spent some time at Santiniketan long ago. He then went to Bombay and took his doctorate there, probably in Sanskrit. He is now Professor of Sanskrit at the Peking University and is a member of their Academia Sinica.

6. The other professor was Wu Shiao Ling (again spelling uncertain). He also spent some time at Santiniketan. He is now Professor of Chinese in the University of Peking.

7. For the third, no name was mentioned, but the China Buddhist Association had promised to help in sending a Professor of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism.

8. Professor Tan told me that he had mentioned all this to Premier Chou En-lai, who was favourably inclined to his proposals, but did not commit himself. He said he would think about them.

9. I told Professor Tan that I liked his ideas on the subject of expansion of Chinese studies, but, in view of the present tensions, we had better postpone consideration of this matter for a while.

10. I have spoken to the Vice-Chancellor on the above lines and he has agreed.

11. Professor Tan had heard that there was some controversy about a map of India appearing in the Chinese translation of my Autobiography. So he gave me a copy of this translation, which I am sending you.

169. In Allahabad: Public Meeting⁶¹

Situation on Border
People must be Vigilant
Nehru's Call

Allahabad,
December 25.

Prime Minister Nehru said here today that the people of India would have to be vigilant even after a settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a mammoth public meeting this evening, made a passing reference to the border dispute between India and China and said that it was a big and dangerous issue which would continue to confront them for long.

The Prime Minister added: "During the past thousand years there had been no danger from our north-eastern border. It was a dead border and nobody bothered about it. But now a new situation has been created, and two great countries are facing each other on that border. I hope there will be a settlement in which the sovereignty and integrity of India will not be affected. But we have to be vigilant even after the settlement."

Mr. Nehru said that some people had been criticising him for not sending the military to the border to chase out the aggressors. "We are not afraid, and there is no question of fear. But it is the question of farsightedness, force and strength", he added.

The Prime Minister said that one person had written to him that he was prepared to send 10,000 students to the border. Another had sent him a letter signed in blood. But if he asked those 10,000 students to do drill for two hours daily or build a hostel of a college, all their enthusiasm would cool down. They probably did not know that those who were sent to the border ought to be physically strong. Generally very few people passed a physical test. "Our men on the border must be strong enough to scale over the high mountains", he added.

Mr. Nehru said that they could not prepare themselves for defending the border by processions and hunger strikes. People of other countries would laugh at them.

61. Report of speech from *The Hindu*, 27 December 1959.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S VISIT

Mr. Nehru referred to the recent visit of President Eisenhower, and said that he was given a great ovation in all the countries he visited because people of the world regarded him as "a messenger of peace." The whole world knew that there were only two countries—America and Russia—which could establish world peace. After a long period those two countries had thought of coming closer to each other. If they succeeded in their mission the whole face of the world would change. India would certainly help in that process. It would then be easy for the world to progress and develop.

But, Mr. Nehru said, no country could progress without hard labour and firm determination. India was at present facing that problem. The people would have to consider and discuss the problem. They would have to face the dangers, whether they were external or internal, he added.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The Prime Minister earlier called upon the people to launch an all-out drive against poverty and to lay a firm foundation of heavy industries in India. Mr. Nehru said that unless agriculture and industry were fully developed, freedom would be endangered.

He said that they had to fight the demon of poverty on a war footing and they must remember that no nation could progress and prosper without heavy industries. The establishment of heavy industries was very essential for the country's prosperity and defence. They could not go to America and beg for arms to defend their country. They had to manufacture them in their own country. They should remember that the country's freedom would be jeopardized if people depended on others for help, and did not stand on their own legs.

Mr. Nehru said that a country's strength was not its military power but the progress made by it in the field of science and technology. He said that for establishing industries and manufacturing machines a country required iron and steel. India was setting up several steel plants and had to prepare her own young men to run those plants. She could not ask America or Russia to send their men for running these plants.

Mr. Nehru said that America and England became prosperous and rich because they manufactured machines for increasing production on the land and in factories. India too had to come in line with the advanced countries.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Forty years ago, there was a revolution in Russia but even during those days Russia was much ahead of India. Nevertheless it took Russia forty years to develop and progress. Whether a country was capitalist or socialist, both progressed on scientific and technological lines.

They wanted to establish factories and manufacture machines in India. They wanted to make furnaces for steel plants and other machinery for running those plants. At present, except for Japan and China, India was marching ahead of other Asian countries in science and technology. They had laid a sound foundation for the teaching of science and engineering and they were at such a point that if they accelerated their pace of development, they would "take off." Then India would be able to stand on her own legs without anybody's help or support. They were in mid-stream and if they did not hasten to cross the river, they would be doomed.

Mr. Nehru said that while people in other countries were taking a keen interest in India's march to progress and prosperity, considerable sections of Indian youth had not yet understood what was happening in the country.

Mr. Nehru said that the world was changing fast and it was essential that they should keep pace with it. While so many changes were taking place in the world, the cultivator of India had not changed. The Indian cultivator was using the same type of plough which was used 2000 years ago. There was no difficulty in changing the plough. The cultivators must use improved implements of agriculture, good fertilizers and good quality seeds to increase their production. They had to demonstrate to the Indian farmer all these things and make him understand their utility.

Mr. Nehru said he wanted that there should be no illiterate person in India but to give education to 40 crores of people was a major problem. At present these crores of children were in primary education stage and one crore in high schools and colleges. This total of four crores was only one-tenth of the population. Even yet the figure was not a small one because there were countries where even the total population was not four crores.

He added that by the end of the Second Five Year Plan the number of school-going children would be about six and a half crores. He wished the time would come soon when about ten crores of people would be receiving education. This could not be done immediately. Education, he said, was not merely to obtain a degree or diploma. The real thing was to judge how much capacity a man had developed to share a particular responsibility. If they wanted to develop their country, there should be a right type of education. At the bottom it should be basic education which should be compulsory for every child.

Mr. Nehru said that basic education should be for everybody. After fourteen or fifteen years of age, there should be a selection and only a student, who had shown some intelligence and ability, should be allowed to go to a University for higher education. Others should go to polytechnique institutions and other training centres. It was possible that there might be hidden talents in villages which did not get any opportunity for higher education.

It was unfortunate that universities had become the forum of party politics and “a fighting ground” instead of being centres of learning and teaching. Some blamed professors and some blamed the students. Whoever might be at fault the universities had become fighting places. Somebody resorted to hunger strikes and some organised processions. If world problems were to be solved by hunger strikes and processions, the world would be doomed. If such things were to continue, it would be better that the universities remained closed.

170. To Subimal Dutt: Han Suyin's letter to *The Times* (London)⁶²

You will remember the letter that Han Suyin wrote to the London Times.⁶³ I wrote to the AICC Office here about it. I enclose the reply of the General Secretary of the AICC. He has sent me the actual resolution passed in December 1904 by the Indian National Congress at Bombay about “Tibetan Affairs and Forward Policy”.⁶⁴ This resolution was obviously passed in connection with the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa.

This has nothing to do with our present controversies. The main purpose of the resolution appears to be to protest against India's money being spent on the expedition.

I am also sending you a number of the Economic Review which presumably Han Suyin saw. You can see the passage at page 63 of this Review.

62. Note, 30 December 1959.

63. On 16 December 1959. See Appendices 2 (a-c) for this and related letters.

64. See Appendix 2 (d)

(c) Tibet

171. In the Rajya Sabha: Abstention at the UN Tibet Debate⁶⁵

M.P. Bhargava:⁶⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether any instructions were sent by Government to the Indian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly regarding the attitude to be adopted by India on the question of the inclusion of discussion on Tibet in the United Nations agenda; and
- (b) what are the reasons for which India did not take part in the voting on the question?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) Yes.

(b) The instructions sent to the Delegation were in accordance with the statements made by the Prime Minister in Parliament and elsewhere on several occasions. The Government of India had considered this matter fully, even before it was brought up in the United Nations, and were of the opinion that no useful purpose would be served by a discussion of this issue in the UN in existing circumstances. When this matter came up for discussion in the UN on the question of inscription, India did not participate in the voting. When the resolution sponsored by Malaya and Ireland was discussed, the Delegation abstained.

M.P. Bhargava: May I know whether it is a fact that according to the United Nations procedure any country can abstain from voting and explain its reasons for doing so before or after the vote?

Jawaharlal Nehru: May be so, Sir. I do not know.

65. Oral Answers, 1 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 885-886.

66. Independent.

172. To MEA: Mobilizing Afro-Asian Opinion on Tibet⁶⁷

Dr. Samar Guha, who is a Lecturer and is also a member of the P.S.P., was sent by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to South-East Asian countries in connection with the proposed Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet. At the instance of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, he came to see me this afternoon. He gave me a copy of his report on his impressions which apparently he has presented to his party here. I am sending you this copy. His talk with me was more or less a summary of his report.

Apart from this, he mentioned some other matters to me. One was that our Embassies abroad in these countries might give greater publicity to our border issues and India's view-point. There was a great deal of interest in them, but our Embassies were not utilising this opportunity to publicize our case. His own visit in connection with Tibet was a successful one except for Cambodia and Singapore. The real success of the visit was not due to the interest in the Tibetan question, but much more so to the great interest and anxiety in connection with the Himalayan border troubles. There was a general resentment at the aggressive attitude of China, coupled with a little fear.

U Ba Swe⁶⁸ of Burma was particularly interested in our border troubles. In this connection, Dr. Guha mentioned that U Ba Swe told him that the army was entirely opposed to U Nu⁶⁹ and his party. If by any chance U Nu won the coming elections, the army would probably take some action against U Nu's party.

Hongkong, he said, was an ideal place for intelligence set-up to find out what was happening in China. But apparently we had no such set-up there.

In his letter to me attached, Dr. Guha refers to the monument of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in Singapore. He said that the Indians in Singapore wanted our Government to take some initiative in this matter. I told him that this was a matter between the Indians in Singapore and the Singapore Government. If they agreed, we would not object, but we did not think it desirable to take any initiative ourselves.

Further, he said that there were two houses in Singapore—one was where Netaji lived and the other was used as headquarters of the Provisional Government of the I.N.A. He has given pictures of these which I attach. The

67. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt and M.J. Desai, 2 December 1959.

68. Former Prime Minister of Burma, 1956-57.

69. Former Premier and President of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League.

Indians in Singapore were anxious that our Government should acquire these houses and use them for any suitable purpose.

173. To Subimal Dutt: Alleged Corruption at Missamari⁷⁰

Some little time ago, Shri [sic] Freda Bedi met me, and discussed the condition of the Tibetan camps etc. She asked me if I had seen her reports. I told her that I had seen some reports but I was not sure if I had seen all of them. Thereupon she sent me some of her later reports which I have read through.

2. These reports struck me as good and a number of suggestions appear suitable. Some perhaps were not feasible.

3. Two matters attracted my attention most. One was the absolute necessity of social workers being attached to these camps. The normal official machine is not adequate for this purpose, however good it might be. The lack of even such ordinary things as soap and the inadequacy of clothing etc. should not occur if a person can get out of official routines. But more than the lack of things is the social approach.

4. What concerned me most out of her reports was a complaint of corruption at Missamari. She says that "I am convinced that there is very bad corruption among the lower clerical staff in Missamari". Heavy bribery is referred to. She suggested in her note on corruption that an immediate secret investigation should take place in this matter.

5. Have any steps been taken to have such an investigation. I think it is important that we should deal with such charges of corruption and removal of officials who may be found guilty of it. It is not enough for the local police to be asked to do it.

6. There is also a reference in the note to costly drugs being purchased by money supplied by the Government of Assam even though large USA drug stocks were available. This kind of thing is either extreme carelessness or corruption.

7. I am anxious that full careful steps should be taken to find out these charges of corruption.

70. Note, 3 December 1959.

174. In the Lok Sabha: Bhotiya Traders⁷¹

P.C. Borooah:⁷² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Secretary of the Indo-Tibetan Border Legislators' Association has sent a memorandum to Government detailing the difficulties of the 40,000 Bhotiyas who used to trade in Tibet formerly; and
- (b) if so, action taken thereon?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) and (b). A copy of the Memorandum, which is addressed to the U.P. Government, has recently been received by the Government of India.⁷³ As is well-known, the Government of India has been giving substantial assistance for the development of the border areas. They have recently addressed the U.P. Government to consider measures to alleviate economic distress which may be caused amongst the border people as a result of the dislocation of the trade with Tibet.

175. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Asia-Africa Conference on Tibet⁷⁴

December 31, 1959

My dear Jayaprakash,

Ever since you met me a few days ago, I have been thinking about your proposed Asia-Africa Conference in regard to Tibet. As the matter seemed to me important enough, I have consulted some of my colleagues also informally. I think it will be right for me to let you know how we feel about this, to avoid misapprehension in that respect.

We feel that such a conference can do little, if any, good and it can and is indeed likely to do a good deal of harm. Even the cause of the Tibetan people will not benefit in any way and obviously our difficulties of the border situation will be enhanced. These difficulties are serious enough, as you know, even as it

71. Written Answers, 15 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, col. 5116.

72. Congress.

73. Submitted by Pratap Singh, Secretary, Indo-Tibetan Border Legislators' Association.

74. Letter. Copied to S. Dutt

is. The holding of such a conference in Delhi in the course of a month or two will lead the Chinese authorities and people again to laying stress on what they have been saying, that is, that this Tibetan trouble has been organized from India with the assistance or acquiescence of the Government of India. The fact that it was a real revolt of the Tibetan people will be covered up to some extent in this way and all the attention will be directed to India as the prime mover.

So far as the Tibetan people are concerned, whatever our sympathy may be, and that is great, the fact is that no country anywhere in the world is going to help them in their plight. Activities outside in favour of the Tibetan people may perhaps be justified from some moral point of view but, actually, they bring greater burdens on those people, which cannot be relieved in any way by others.

Because of this, we have felt that such a conference, more especially in Delhi, is unfortunate. If it is held here, then obviously the Government cannot directly or indirectly associate itself with it.

I hope you will understand our difficulties and our position.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Nepal

176. To Devendra Prasad Singh: Conduct of Indian Officials in Nepal⁷⁵

December 14, 1959

Dear Devendra Prasadji,

Thank you for your letter of today's date,⁷⁶ which I have read with much interest, I am glad you wrote to me and gave me the background in Nepal from your intimate knowledge. Much of it I knew.

I am very sorry to learn that many members of the staff of our Mission there have behaved in an undesirable and overbearing way. I quite agree with you that this kind of thing is wholly wrong and harmful. We should try to impress our people with this fact.

75. Letter.

76. See Appendix 9.

I would like to meet you and shall try to do so before this Session ends. But, for the present, I am very heavily occupied.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

177. To MEA: Conduct of Indian Officials Abroad⁷⁷

I am sending you a letter from Shri Devendra Prasad Singh, M.P. It is a good letter, and what he has written deserves consideration. I might mention that he is a very intimate friend of Prime Minister B.P. Koirala. So, what he says might be considered to represent B.P. Koirala's views also.

I am particularly concerned to read about the overbearing manners of some of our representatives there, both in our Embassy and the Aid Mission. I think we should send instructions to these people, which are clear and specific, and tell them that any such behaviour is highly objectionable and harmful.

178. To H. C. Heda: Reception for Nepali Delegation⁷⁸

December 17, 1959

My dear Heda,

Your letter about the Nepalese Parliamentary Delegation. You can certainly arrange some kind of a party or reception for them if this can be fitted in with their programme. I understand that their programme is a heavy one and it is already full up. I met them today.

I am afraid I shall probably not be able to attend the reception as I am terribly full during the next few days and the Prime Minister of Sweden is coming tomorrow evening.

In any event, it will be a good thing for you to indicate that you would like to invite them to meet Parliament Members. If they agree, well and good; if not, it cannot be helped.

The reception should not be on behalf of the Himalayan Border Group. That would be improper. It might be on behalf of the Standing Committee on External Affairs.

77. Note to N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt, 14 December 1959. File No. 24(1)-Nepal/60, MEA.

78. Letter.

You should take them round your office, etc. and show them how our Party works.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

179. To B.P. Koirala: Party Politics and Indo-Nepal Relations⁷⁹

December 18, 1959

My dear BP,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th December which I received a few days ago. I have also had a talk with D.P. Singh, who gave me your letter. I shall be glad to keep in touch with you through D.P. Singh directly without going through the normal diplomatic channels.

[The Olive Branch to Strike]



(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 6 DECEMBER 1959)

79. Letter to the Prime Minister of Nepal.

As I made it clear in my statements in Parliament, there was no question of our taking any unilateral action in Nepal. That idea never struck me and indeed it would have been very improper for us to suggest any such thing. All I did was to refer to the clear understanding arrived at the time of the last Treaty between India and Nepal. I am glad that this matter has been cleared up.

It seems to me that some elements in Nepal, chiefly the Communist Party, and perhaps some others, are deliberately trying to create mischief for you. In fact, my information is that originally the Communist Party of Nepal kept close contact with the Communist Party of India and more or less received their directions from the Indian Communist Party. I gather that there has been a change in this and that the Communist Party of Nepal is now directly under the Chinese Communist Party. According to my information, the Chinese Communist Party has told them that the Indian C.P. is not functioning properly. Because of the strong public sentiments in India, they have given up supporting the Chinese case fully. Hence, the direction of the Chinese Party.

It is true that the Indian C.P. has been functioning in some difficulties in India because of the strong public reaction to what the Chinese authorities have done. In fact, there have been many incidents in various parts of India where our Communist Party was unable to hold public meetings. In Calcutta, however, the Communist Party is somewhat stronger and gets the support of some odd elements, more especially, the Socialist Unity Group. This is a small group, but quite objectionable. I think the Chinese are directly supporting some of these groups.

The Indian Communist Party's main plank now is that I should meet the Chinese Premier as soon as possible. Today I received Chou En-lai's reply to my last letter to him.⁸⁰ It is a long reply and outwardly friendly in tone, but the content of it is much the same as of his previous communications. We are going to give full thought to it before we send any reply. It is obvious, however, that I cannot meet Chou En-lai on the 26th of this month, as suggested by him. As it happens, I shall be away on tour after the 23rd of December. January is always a very difficult month for me because of the Science Congress and the National Congress meetings. Also there are a number of important visitors from abroad who are coming as our guests. On the 20th January, President Voroshilov of the Soviet Union is coming. So I do not quite know when I shall be able to meet Chou En-lai. Anyhow we shall have to give a great deal of thought to what he has written and send a proper reply. That itself will take some little time.

80. See Appendix 12.

During these last days of our Parliament Session, I have been very heavily occupied. There was President Eisenhower here who took up all our time and who got a tremendous reception. This evening the Prime Minister of Sweden has come here.

I think I understand the difficulties you have to face and you have all our sympathies. I am sure that you will surmount them.

I am looking forward to your coming here when we can have full talks.

With all good wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Pakistan

180. In the Lok Sabha: Pakistan Army Kidnaps Indians⁸¹

Question:⁸² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state: Whether it is a fact that four Indians were taken away by Pakistani army men from Khudipara in Berubari Mouza on the 6th November, 1959; and
If so, the details of the incident?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). One Head Constable and two constables of the East Pakistan police entered Khudipara on 6th November, searched 13 houses and took notes about the jute and galvanised iron sheets in possession of some of the villagers. About 125 Pakistani nationals accompanied them. The Pakistan Police Party arrested four Indian nationals and took away one cycle to the Pakistan Border Out-Post at Khalpara. All the four persons including the cycle were, however, released later the same day. The Head Constable of the East Pakistan Police also explained to the local Indian police that his action was due to his misconception about the actual position of the village.

The Indian Deputy Commissioner, Jalpaiguri, has taken up the matter with his Pakistani opposite number. Police patrolling in the area has also been intensified.

81. 2 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXVI, cols 2909-2910.

82. By Congress MPs Mafida Ahmed and P.C. Borooah.

181. In the Rajya Sabha: Interrogation of Minorities in East Pakistan⁸³

Nawab Singh Chauhan: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news item published in the Tribune of December 5, 1959, to the effect that the persons belonging to the minority community in East Pakistan are being interrogated in respect of their income and bank accounts etc. and that a large number of passports sent for renewal are not being returned to them for months together; and
- (b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, whether Government has made any enquiry about the reasons for such interrogation and what is its effect on the minorities there?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b).

According to reports received from the Indian High Commission and the Deputy High Commission, Dacca, from time to time, passports belonging to the minority community in East Pakistan were being held up and not returned to the holders. The Indian High Commission in Karachi and the Deputy High Commission in Dacca were accordingly instructed to take up this matter with appropriate authorities in Pakistan. This matter was also raised informally at the last meeting of the Chief Secretaries of the Eastern Zone held in Calcutta in August, 1959. The representative of the Government of East Pakistan then explained that they had detected a large number of forged passports in circulation and that they were, therefore, obliged to exercise a check on all passports in order to ensure that these were genuine. They, however, promised to issue instructions to the authorities concerned to expedite the checking. A Note by the Pakistan Foreign Office to the Indian High Commission also denied the allegation regarding the stopping of issue and renewal of passports of members of the minority community and added that no discrimination was made in this regard.

No authentic information is available regarding the number of passports withheld by Pakistan authorities, particularly as this is a matter affecting Pakistan nationals who do not approach the Indian Missions. It is estimated, however, that nearly 70,000 passports belonging to members of the minority community

83. Written answers, 17 December 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVII, cols 2908-2911.

are still held up in East Pakistan. The matter is being pursued with the authorities of East Pakistan in pursuance of the assurances given by them at the last Chief Secretaries' Conference.

It is also understood that the authorities of East Pakistan are making enquiries from a large number of members of the minority community regarding their income, taxes, accounts, members of family outside Pakistan, remittances, etc. It is understood that these enquiries are being made in order to tighten up the operation of foreign exchange restrictions and to ensure that Hindu residents do not send currency abroad through illegal means.

182. In the Lok Sabha: India-Pakistan Border Talks⁸⁴

Question:⁸⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the progress made towards the demarcation of the eastern border of India with Pakistan in terms of the settlement recently arrived at between India and Pakistan; and
- (b) whether any talks or negotiations are in progress for an amicable settlement of the Western border of India with Pakistan?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (J.N. Hazarika): (a) A statement showing the progress is laid on the Table of the House. (See Appendix III, Annexure No. 60).

(b) A Minister level conference to consider the disputes relating to the Indo-West Pakistan boundary is likely to be held early in January, 1960.

Bimal Ghose: May I know whether this border is being demarcated in regard to the agreement recently arrived at and also the agreement that was arrived at and is known as the Nehru-Noon Agreement?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Yes, this question refers to the western border.

Bimal Ghose: Eastern also.

84. Oral answers, 18 December 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVII, cols 5849-5853.

85. By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta, C. Panigrahi, Kalika Singh, N.C. Laskar, Rameshwar Tantia and P.C. Borooah; PSP MPs Bimal Ghose and Amjad Ali and Independent, S.M. Banerjee.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Eastern also, yes. The border is being demarcated, so far as the eastern one is concerned, on the basis of the decisions of the last conference, which decisions include that part of it in the so-called Nehru-Noon Agreement which applies to it. The western border will also take into consideration any previous agreements.

Hem Barua: May I know whether the criticism that the decision about the Patherkandi police station, about these five villages that are to be handed over to Pakistan, has been arrived at not according to authentic maps, documents and the Radcliffe Award is true, and whether Government is posted with the memorandum from the people living in those areas?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The exact border there has not yet been decided, it is being looked into, but it is based on the Radcliffe Award which was accepted by both parties in regard to this area. No doubt had been raised so far on that question.

It has not even been discussed at conferences because it was admitted there, but nevertheless it was in our possession because other areas were in Pakistan's possession. Whether it will be five villages or four or three and a half, I cannot say, because that depends upon delimitation.

Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether any portion of the eastern border still remains to be settled?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Practically not—that is, it remains to be demarcated, but not settled. Settlement has been more or less done. Perhaps a little bit of Tripura border has to be looked into, but broadly speaking the questions arising in the eastern border have been settled.

Sardar Iqbal Singh:⁸⁶ Government is going to take up the question of the West Pakistan border very soon. May I know whether Government will also consider taking up the question of the land at Ferozepur headworks where Sardar Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev were cremated, since that place belongs to India, but is occupied by Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, Sir, I have not understood it.

Mr. Speaker: Some place is in the possession of Pakistan, it belongs to India, will that be taken up?

The hon. Member may send a suggestion to the Prime Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, when the border questions are taken up, every such question will be considered. There are places which appertain to India, and are now in Pakistan possession. There are places belonging to Pakistan which are in India's possession. All these places will have to be considered.

Bangshi Thakur:⁸⁷ Why is not Tripura coming into the picture?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is very much in the picture. I cannot give an exact answer, but some little enquiry had to be made. We are not leaving out Tripura.

Hem Barua: Some of the areas in the Patherkandi police station are proposed to be settled in favour of Pakistan. May I know whether Government propose to maintain the status quo for some time so that the families living there, if they so desire, might migrate to Indian territory?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would refer the hon. Member to the long minutes of decisions of that last conference which deal very fully with this particular question. Nothing is going to be done in a hurry, and every effort will be made to meet the conveniences of the people concerned.

S.M. Banerjee: Since the judgment in the case of the Berubari Union has been reserved by the Supreme Court, I want to know whether the transfer of property will wait till that judgment is given since the case raises a fundamental constitutional point whether properties can be transferred without amending the Constitution or only after amending the Constitution?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Surely, when a matter has been referred to the Supreme Court, we must wait for their decision.

S.M. Banerjee: I am not referring to Berubari, but the other thing, the Patharia forest, the five villages etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, that does not involve anything.

87. Congress.

Vajpayee: May I know if the attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Karimganj District Congress that the majority of the population of the five villages now being transferred to Pakistan consists of Hindus and only 24 families out of 468 are of Muslims; if so, may I know if any enquiry will be made into this resolution?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No enquiry is necessary into the resolution. Presumably the resolution was passed. The hon. Member points out certain proportion of the Muslim population and the Hindu population there. What the exact proportion is, I cannot say immediately. But a certain substantial majority is Muslim—that I knew—whatever it may be. But how does that make any difference? That is not clear to me.

Vajpayee: The other day, the Prime Minister stated in this House that 60 per cent of the population consists of Muslims. This has been challenged by the District Congress Committee of Karimganj. They say that only 24 families out of 468 belong to Muslims. The Prime Minister should correct his statement.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Since the hon. Member has drawn my attention to it, I shall certainly enquire and find out what the facts are.

(f) USA

183. To MEA: Meeting with Drew Pearson⁸⁸

Drew Pearson, the American columnist, saw me for about half an hour this morning. He discussed various matters, but he was chiefly interested in our border situation with China and our own impression about the attitude, of Khrushchev towards China and these border troubles.

2. He began by saying that he wanted to come to India previously, but the British Government had not allowed him to do so. The last time he came here was in 1925 and he got into trouble with Governor Lloyd because of what he had written then about the British Government's attitude towards Gandhiji.

88. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt and M.J. Desai, 5 December 1959.

3. About the Camp David meeting between President Eisenhower and Mr Khrushchev, he said that each of them was impressed by the other. President Eisenhower formed a favourable opinion of Khrushchev or, at any rate, of his present intentions for peace, etc.

4. Drew Pearson referred to the statement made by Secretary Herter about the India-China dispute. In this connection he said that it was believed that President Eisenhower and Mr Khrushchev had come to some understanding at Camp David that both of them should avoid taking part in controversies which might add to tension. Exactly what this possible agreement might have been he did not know, and I do not quite understand what was hinted at. But something apparently happened which has resulted, according to Drew Pearson, in Herter's and President Eisenhower's statements in regard to China on the one hand and Mr Khrushchev's general attitude on the India-China question on the other.

5. Drew Pearson has been to various places where Mr Eisenhower is going to, viz., Rome, Athens, Tehran, Kabul, etc. He got the impression from Tehran and perhaps one or two other places that there was not much enthusiasm for a thaw in the relations of the two big groups. Kabul, however, welcomed such a thought.

(g) Eisenhower's Visit

184. At Ramlila Grounds: Public Meeting⁸⁹

जनाबेआला, बहिनो और भाइयो,

चार दिन हुए आप यहाँ आये और करीब-करीब आपका यहाँ ठहरने का समय खत्म हो रहा है।⁹⁰ कल सुबह आप दिल्ली से रवाना होंगे, और ईरान पहुँचेंगे। चार दिन आप यहाँ रहे, और चार दिन में हमने आपको काफी परेशान किया (हँसी) काफी आपको थकाया, इधर-उधर ले गए, लेकिन हम भी मजबूर थे, क्योंकि यह बात यहाँ की हुकूमत के काबू की नहीं थी। (हँसी) क्योंकि इस बात को दिल्ली के रहने वालों ने अपने काबू में इसको ले आए थे बहुत कुछ और नामुमकिन हो गया कि हम इस मामले में बहुत रोकथाम कर सकें। इन चार दिनों में आपने तरह-तरह के दिल्ली के और हिन्दुस्तान के रूप देखे। हिन्दुस्तान के मैंने इसलिए कहा, कि वह बहुत कुछ दिल्ली में और हिन्दुस्तान भी दिख जाता है। आपको कुछ तोहफे मिले, लेकिन शायद

89. Civic reception in honour of Eisenhower at Ramlila Maidan, 13 December 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

90. Eisenhower visited India from 9 to 13 December 1959.

सबमें बड़ी चीज जो हम आपको दे सकते थे, वह हमने आज शाम के लिए रखी। आज शाम के लिए इस बड़े जलसे में, जहाँ कि मालूम नहीं कितने लाख लोग जमा हैं, आए यहाँ आपको देखने और आपको सुनने। सड़कों पे भी बहुत लोग आपसे मिले थे, आपके पहुँचने के वक्त भी, लेकिन शायद यह जो तस्वीर, चित्र आपने इस वक्त यहाँ देखा और देख रहे हैं, बहुत दिन तक आपको याद रहेगा। (तालियाँ)

यह चार दिन हमको भी याद रहेंगे और हमारे इस जमाने की तारीख में वह भी कुछ खास रंग रखेंगे। क्योंकि इन चार दिनों में खाली जलसे और तकरीरें और भीड़ें नहीं थीं, बल्कि कुछ दो महान देश के दिल का हाल भी सुना। (तालियाँ) कुछ खासकर आपने देखा, मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के दिल और दिमाग में क्या बातें हैं। कुछ आपने महसूस किया कि हमारे दिल में और दिमाग में आपके निस्वत और आपके महान देश के निस्वत क्या ख्यालात हैं। और खासकर मैं आशा करता हूँ आप समझें कुछ, कि क्या वह बुनियादी चीजें हैं, वह शक्तियाँ जिन्होंने इस मुल्क को और इसकी बेशुमार कौमों को ढकेला है और आगे बढ़ाया है और कुछ आपने यह भी महसूस किया कि हमारे आगे-पीछे कितने खाई, कितनी मुसीबतें हैं, कितनी मुश्किलें हैं। क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान तो एक मेल है, एक समुन्दर है इंसानों का, समुन्दर है अच्छी बातों का, समुन्दर है कमजोरियों का और बुरी बातों का। और हर वक्त यहाँ एक कशमकश है एक आपस की, आपस में ही कि हम अपनी अच्छी बातों को आगे ले जाएँ और कमजोरियों को दबाएँ।

एक जमाना था, जब हमने ख़्वाब आजादी का देखा, और बहुत लोग उस वक्त कुछ घबराते थे कि एक बड़े साम्राज्य के खिलाफ़ कैसे हम आजादी हासिल करें। लेकिन एक आदमी जिसके नाम से आप वाकिफ़ हैं, दुबला-पतला आदमी, हल्की आवाज का आदमी, लेकिन फिर भी एक अजीब आदमी आया और उसकी आवाज, हल्की आवाज गूँजी हमारे मुल्क में, हमारे करोड़ों आदमियों के कानों में और उसने याद दिलाया कि हमारा कर्तव्य क्या है, फर्ज़ क्या है, उसने याद दिलाया कि बगैर आजादी के कोई कौम बढ़ नहीं सकती, कोई कौम, अपना तो उसका एक धर्मसिद्ध अधिकार है, जैसे लोकमान्य ने कहा था, जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार, वह पूरा नहीं हासिल करती। और हम इस लम्बे सफर और यात्रा पर चले आजादी हासिल करने। एक ख़्वाब था लेकिन उस ख़्वाब को हमने हल्के-हल्के एक रूप लेते देखा, और आखिर में फिर हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद हुआ और यहाँ के करोड़ों आदमियों ने अपने शान्ति के रास्ते पर चलके आजादी हासिल की।

आपने अभी कहा, और गाँधीजी के अलफाज़ दोहराये, कि आजादी कितनी कीमती चीज है। हम जानते हैं, हम अच्छी तरह से महसूस करते हैं और आजकल के लोग कम से कम जित्ते को आप देखते हैं, कुछ छोटे बच्चों को छोड़ के, वह सब ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने इन दोनों दुनियाओं को देखा, गुलामी की और आजादी की। तो पहचान काफी है। लेकिन जब हम अपनी आजादी के लिए लड़ते थे, उस वक्त भी हम सोचते थे और दुनिया का हाल, हमारी निगाहें जाती थी और मुल्कों पर जो आजाद नहीं थे। हमेशा हमने अपनी आजादी को एक अलग दुनिया से नहीं

देखा बल्कि एक दुनिया की आजादी का हिस्सा उसको समझा। इसलिए जहाँ-जहाँ आजादी की लड़ाई हुई हमारी निगाहें गईं, हमारा दिमाग गया और हमारी सहानुभूति गई। उस वक्त से पिछले 10-12 बरस में अक्सर मुल्क जो पहले और मुल्कों के नीचे थे, आजाद हो गए हैं एशिया में, अफ्रीका में, और हमें खुशी है इस बात की। लेकिन अब भी कुछ मुल्क हैं जो कि नहीं आजाद हैं और अब भी वह हमारे में रहते हैं और हमारी हमदर्दी उनके पास जाती है क्योंकि हम समझते हैं जब तक इस तरह की गुलामी की बीमारी दुनिया में कहीं है, दुनिया का स्वास्थ्य, सेहत अच्छा नहीं है। इसी तरह से जब तक दुनिया में गरीबी, मुफलिसी है कहीं भी, दुनिया का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा नहीं है, हालाँकि और दुनिया के हिस्से में खुशहाली हो।

आपने देखा, हमने देखा इस दुनिया को बदलते हुए, इस पिछले 30-40-50 वर्ष में, और कैसे यह ज्यादा गठी हुई दुनिया होती जाती है। आप आए यहाँ हवाई जहाज पर उड़के, चन्द घंटों में एक मुल्क से दूसरे मुल्क आए, कल सुबह यहाँ से चलके सुबह ही सुबह आप तेहरान पहुँचेंगे। एक दुनिया गठी हुई होती जाती है, इस गठी हुई दुनिया में शादी नहीं हो सकती है गुलामी की और आजादी की। (तालियाँ) न इस दुनिया में बहुत दिन तक यह भी हो सकता है कि मुफलिसी, गरीबी और मुसीबत चन्द मुल्कों में और मुल्कों में खुशहाली। क्योंकि एक दूसरे पर असर एक दूसरे को खींचेंगे पीछे, और तरह-तरह की बीमारियाँ पैदा होंगी जो कि हमारी आजादी तक पर भी हमला कर सकती है। तो गरज कि शुरू जमाने से हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई में दो-तीन बातें हमारे सामने हर वक्त रहीं। एक तो यह कि हम खाली अपने मुल्क की आजादी के लिए कोशिश नहीं करते थे, बल्कि दुनिया के लिए, और मुल्क जो कि दबे हुए हों, जो कि किसी और हुक्मत के नीचे हों।

दूसरे यह हमने इस सवाल को और-और सवालों को एक खास नक्शे में देखा। वह नक्शा था अमन का और शान्ति का। मैं नहीं कहता आपसे यह कि हम सब जो यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं लाखों, कोई फरिश्ते हैं? हम कमजोर आदमी हैं, कमजोर आदमी हैं, गुस्सेल आदमी हैं, बदतमीज आदमी हैं, जाने क्या-क्या बातें धोखे से कर डालते हैं। लेकिन कम से कम हमारे दिल में तो यह एक ख्याल था, यह एक यकीन था कि रास्ता वही अच्छा है, और जितनी हममें ताकत थी उस रास्ते पर हम चले। क्योंकि हमारा एक अफसर था, जिसको हमने अपना दिल दिया था, जिसके लफज़ पर हमें भरोसा था, जिसकी ऊँचाई को हम देखके हम शर्मिंदा हो जाते थे। तो हालाँकि हम एक मामूली मिट्टी के पुतले थे, फिर भी उस बड़े नेता के नीचे चलकर और उसके सिद्धांतों को लेकर कुछ हम भी इंसान हुए, कुछ हममें से भी वीर पुरुष हुए। इस तरह से हमारे मुल्क का चेहरा बदला, इस तरह से एक गिरे हुए गुलाम मुल्क में ताकत आई और हम निडर होके आगे बढ़े और जब हम निडर होके आगे बढ़े, तब भी एक बात आपसे मैं अर्ज करूँगा वह भी एक बात हमारे नेता ने हमें सिखाई कि किसी से दुश्मनी न करो। वह अंग्रेजी हुक्मत और साम्राज्य यहाँ था, लेकिन उन्होंने हमसे कहा कि इस हमारी लड़ाई साम्राज्य से है, अंग्रेज से नहीं है, न अंग्रेजों के मुल्क से है। इसलिए शायद कम मिसालें आपको मिलें इस तरह की एक कौमी जंगोज़हद हो, और उसमें इतना कम दुश्मनी पैदा हो, रंजिश हो और

एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ हिकारत हो। मैं नहीं कहता कि नहीं थी, थी हममें। सब बातें थीं, थीं क्योंकि हम मामूली हैसियत के आदमी हैं जैसे और दुनिया में होते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी ऐसा जबर्दस्त एक सिक्का हमारे ऊपर लगा कि हम इस बात को भूल नहीं सकते।

और फिर आप देखें कि उसके बाद जब 13 बरस हुए, 12 बरस हुए, जब हमारे मुल्क में और अंग्रेजों के मुल्क में समझौता हुआ, जिसका नतीजा हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी हुई, तो उसके बाद हमारी रंजिश इंग्लैण्ड या इंग्लैण्ड के लोगों के साथ नहीं रही, मामला खत्म हुआ। और मैं चाहता हूँ आप इस बात को सोचें कि दुनिया के इतिहास में कितनी ऐसी मिसालें हैं कि ऐसी कौमी, राष्ट्रीय, नेशनलिस्ट जद्दोजहद के बाद दोस्ती हो जाए और अपने-अपने रास्ते पर चलें, किसी का दबाव दूसरे पर नहीं। हम अक्सर ऐसे रास्ते पर चलें जो कि इंग्लैण्ड की हाकिमों को शायद पसन्द न हो, वह अक्सर ऐसे रास्ते पर चलें, जो हमें पसन्द नहीं था, लेकिन, लेकिन उससे कोई हमारे रिश्ते में उनके साथ खलल नहीं पड़ा दोस्ती का रिश्ता था, आजादी का रिश्ता था, हम आजादी से सोचें, और जो मुनासिब समझे करें, और वह आजादी से सोचें और जो मुनासिब समझें करें। हमने यह भी स्वीकार किया कि जो एक चन्द मुल्कों की एक संस्था सी उन्होंने बनाई, जिसका कि नाम कामनवेल्थ है, उसमें भी हमने रहना पसन्द किया, अपनी खुशी से मंजूर किया, बशर्ते कि हम पूरे आजाद हों और सब उसके मेम्बर सदस्य आजाद हों।

मैंने यह एक पुरानी कहानी आपके सामने रखी, इसलिए कि दो बातें जो हमारे सामने शुरू से रहीं, एक आजादी हासिल करना, दूसरे शान्ति के तरीके से, और शान्ति के तरीके में जाहिर है यह जरूरी मजबूर करते हैं कि जहाँ तक मुमकिन हो दूसरे से अदावत न करो, दूसरे से दुश्मनी न करो, मुकाबला करो, मुखालफत करो, जो गलत बात है, लेकिन दुश्मनी न करो। यह सब बातें लोग कहें उसूल की हैं, सिद्धान्त की हैं, आजकल की दुनिया में इनसे क्या वास्ता, लेकिन अजीब यह एक दुनिया ने करवट ली कि आजकल की दुनिया से पहले से कहीं ज्यादा वास्ता हो गया है इन बातों का। क्योंकि अब अगर इस रास्ते पर न चलें दुनिया, तो इसका नतीजा एक ऐसा हो सकता है हौलनाक, जिसका आप ज्यादा समझते हैं हम सभी से, क्योंकि आपको लड़ाई का तजुर्बा, और आपको अमन का चुनांचे इस ढंग से करना कोई काम जो कि दुनिया की हवा खराब करे, लड़ाई पैदा करे, रंजिश, दुश्मनी पैदा करे, वो एक गुनाह है, ईंसानियत के और इस दुनिया के खिलाफ है। (तालियों)

तो फिर आप यहाँ आए, आप यहाँ आए और आपको हमने मोहब्बत से आपका इस्तकबाल किया। जब आप आते हम यह करते, क्योंकि आप ऊँचे दर्जे के आदमी हैं, आपकी कदर और आदर करते क्योंकि आप नुमाइन्दे हैं एक बहुत शानदार और बड़ी कौम के और बड़े मुल्क के। (तालियों) जिसकी जड़ उन्हीं उसूलों में, उन्हीं सिद्धांतों में पड़ी थी जिनको हमने भी बहुत याद किया और उनसे हमने ताकत अपनी ली बहुत हमने भी अपनी जवानी में उन किताबों को पढ़ा जो कि अमेरिका का इंकलाब के वक्त जिसमें उसका हाल लिखा है, और अमेरिका के उस वक्त के लीडरान ने जो-जो कहा था और किया था, और उससे हमारे कुछ दिमागों पर भी कुछ एक असर जबर्दस्त पड़ा। तो बहरसूरत कोई भी अमेरिका के राष्ट्रपति

आते, हमारे सामने यह तस्वीर आती जो बचपन से हमारे दिमागों में थी और हम उसका आदर करते।

लेकिन जाहिर है और यह बात मेरे कहने की नहीं है कि आपका इस वक्त आना एक खासतौर से मुबारिक हुआ, क्योंकि अलावा इसके कि आप एक महापुरुष है, अलावा इसके कि आप राष्ट्रपति हैं अमेरिका के, आपने झण्डा शान्ति और अमन का दुनिया में इस वक्त उठाया है। (तालियाँ) और इसके लिए तकलीफ उठाके आप यह लम्बी यात्राएँ और सफर कर रहे हैं। इस बात से जो बात हमारे कुछ दिमागों में कदर की थी, वह घूमते-घूमते दिल में पहुँच गई (तालियाँ) और दिल के असंरात ज्यादा जबर्दस्त होते हैं दिमाग से भी, लेकिन जब दिमाग और दिल मिल जाएं, तब तो फिर बहुत ही असर होता है। (तालियाँ)

आपने अभी कुछ इशारा किया कि 10-15 बरस बाद हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर क्या होगी। हम भी ख्वाब देखा करते हैं लम्बे-चौड़े। और जैसे पहले हमने ख्वाब देखे थे आजादी के, और बहुत लोगों को यकीन नहीं आता था, लेकिन हमें यकीन था कि हम हासिल करेंगे और आखिर में हमने उसे हासिल किया और शान से हासिल किया। इसी तरह से बावजूद इस वक्त, इसी तरह से हम फिर ख्वाब देखते हैं, हम ख्वाब देखते हैं, कि इस मुल्क का एक-एक मर्द और औरत और एक-एक बच्चा, और खासकर बच्चे, और नौजवान, उनको पूरा मौका मिले अच्छी शानदार जिन्दगी रहने का। उनकी जो इस वक्त मुसीबतें हैं, गरीबी है, दरिद्रता है उसको हम हटायें, खत्म करें और हम अपनी मेहनत से, अपनी लियाकत से हमारे हमारे लोग काफी पैदा करें इस मुल्क में, जमीन से और कारखानों से और हर तरह से जिससे खुशहाली हरेक का हिस्सा हो और फिर हम और आगे, मुल्क और आगे बढ़े और तरह-तरह के दिमागी मैदानों में फतह पाए। हम भी यह ख्वाब देखते हैं। और उसी के साथ यह यकीन है, यह विश्वास है कि यह दूसरा ख्वाब भी पूरा होगा (तालियाँ) हिन्दुस्तान के लिए।

और जो लोग समझते हैं कि हमारी कमजोरियाँ ज्यादा हैं, हमारी तादाद ज्यादा है, हमारे सामने पहाड़ बहुत हैं, वह बात सही समझते हैं, लेकिन एक बात यह शायद न समझते हों कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की कुछ थोड़ी बहुत आदत हो गई है पहाड़ चढ़ने की। (तालियाँ) और मुसीबत का सामना करने की और कभी-कभी नदी, दरिया छलांग के उस पार भी जाने की। चुनावों कुछ बातों से डर नहीं लगता और एक-दूसरे पर हमें और अपने मुल्क पर भरोसा है, मुल्क के लोगों पर क्योंकि हम बार-बार आजमाये गये हैं और अक्सर पूरे पाए गए हैं। इसके माने नहीं है कि हम एक गफलत में पड़ें, समझें कि अपने आप से बातें हो जाएंगी, क्योंकि हम जानते हैं यह काम मुश्किल है, परिश्रम का है, मेहनत का है, बलिदान का है, वैसा बलिदान नहीं जो स्वराज के जमाने में आया था हमारे सामने, कि कोई किसी ने जान दी, किसी ने और मुसीबतें झेली। आजकल का बलिदान दूसरे ढंग का है, वो परिश्रम करना है, ताकि नया हिन्दुस्तान बने यह आज का बलिदान है। वो आपस में एकता रखनी है ताकि हमारी ताकत ज़ाया न हो और मिलकर हमें इस तरह से सारे मुल्क को बढ़ाना है। क्योंकि मुल्क बढ़ता है परिश्रम से, कौम बढ़ती है मेहनत से, न कि महज़ जबानी जमा-खर्च से।

तो आपने जिक्र किया कि आप समझते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क की, और किसी मुल्क को भी जो इस तरह से ऐसी हालत में हो, तरक्की करने के लिए तेजी से इमदाद की जरूरत होती है यह बात तो जाहिर है, क्योंकि ऐसे मौके पर, जब मुल्क की पूँजी कम है, तो अगर इमदाद मिले तो तेजी से बढ़ सकते हैं, नहीं तो रफ्तार हल्की होती है। यह बात सही है, और हम इसलिए मशकूर हैं कि जो आपके मुल्क से और और मुल्कों से हमारी मदद इसलिए मिली है। यह बात ठीक है, जाहिर है हम चाहते हैं जल्दी बढ़ें, जाहिर है जितनी हमें मदद मिले हमें खुशी हो और हम उसका शुक्रिया अदा करें। लेकिन उसी के साथ एक पक्की बात हमारे दिमाग में है कि कोई कौम और कोई मुल्क आगे नहीं बढ़ते, सिवाए अपनी कोशिश के, अपनी हिम्मत के, अपने परिश्रम और ताकत के। (तालियाँ) इसलिए यह हम आपको इत्मीनान दिलाना चाहते हैं कि हम अपना बोझा जितना उठा सकते हैं, उतना ही नहीं बल्कि उससे ज्यादा, खुद ही उठाएंगे। हाँ, जो हमारे दोस्त हैं, हमसे हमदर्दी रखते हैं या जो हमारे सिद्धांत हैं, उनको स्वीकार करते हैं, वह मदद करेंगे तो खुशी से हम उसको स्वीकार हमने की है।

तो आजकल के जमाने में एक अजीब-अजीब नये और पुराने का जोड़ है, मुठभेड़ हैं, यहाँ भी जो बड़ा जलसा हो रहा है, वह भी नई दिल्ली और पुरानी दिल्ली के बीच में। (हँसी) यह महज एक जमीन की बात नहीं है, बल्कि एक दिमागी बात है। क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान के सामने यह सवाल बड़े हैं, कहाँ तक पुराने रहें कहाँ तक नये हों, कैसे पुराने और नए को जोड़ें क्योंकि एक तरफ से पुराना, हमारी पुरानी बातें जो कि निहायत कीमती है हमारे लिए, हमें खींचती हैं। दूसरे तरफ से भविष्य हमको पुकारता है नई बातें, जिन नई बातों ने दुनिया को बदला, वह हमको खींचता है, न हम पुराने को छोड़ सकते हैं न बगैर नए के रह सकते हैं। तो यह पेंच है, लेकिन इसके माने नहीं कि हर चीज पुराने को हम चिपके रहें, चाहे कितनी ही निकम्मी हो। जाहिर है हमें चुनना है, जो पुराने में अच्छी चीज है जिन्होंने हमारे कौम को ताकत दी है और उसकी शान बढ़ाई है, वह तो हमेशा के लिए हमें मुबारिक हो, जो पुरानों में या तो बुरी है, या आजकल के जमाने से कुछ मतलब नहीं रखती उसको छोड़ना है। क्योंकि हर अच्छी चीज के चारों तरफ अक्सर बहुत गर्दो-गुबार चिपक जाता है, उसको साफ करना होता है और नई दुनिया जो हमारे सामने खुलती जाती है और हमें बहुत सारी बातें उसमें अच्छी लगती हैं, क्योंकि उसको जब तक हम हासिल न करें, न हमारी ताकत होती है, न हमारी खुशहाली और हमारी आजादी तक खतरे में पड़ जाती है। तो उधर भी हम झुकते हैं।

लेकिन उस नई दुनिया में भी कभी-कभी बाज़ बातें नजर आती हैं, जो बहुत खूबसूरत नहीं होतीं। लेकिन आखिर में जमाने का तकाज़ा है, पुकार है कि हम इस नई दुनिया को अपनाएँ, अपने पुराने, पुरानी बातों को मजबूत रखके नई दुनिया को पकड़ें, समझें। अब अगर आप आजकल की दुनिया को देखें तो हम हिन्दुस्तान में एक पुराना, निहायत पुराना मुल्क जवान होने की कोशिश कर रहा है, फिर से जवानी और कुछ कामयाबी भी हासिल कर रहा है, और आपका मुल्क हमारे इतिहास के, तारीख के हिसाब से एक नया मुल्क है ही क्या दो, ढाई सौ बरस का मुल्क, दिल्ली की उम्र दिल्ली शहर की यह शाहजहानाबाद की भी उम्र उससे भी

ज्यादा है, पुराना दिल्ली तो छोड़ दीजिए। तो लेकिन इस नई दुनिया में, और आप तजुर्बेकार हैं, पुराने हैं, हम नई दुनिया में नए हैं? पुरानी दुनिया से हम पुराने हैं। तो यह जो नई और पुरानी बातों का जोड़ हो, जो कि एक माने में सवाल दुनिया भर का है, और खासतौर से हमारा हमारे लिए है क्योंकि हमारी जड़ पुरानी है, बहुत गहरी है हिन्दुस्तान की जमीन में, न उखड़ सकती है न हम उखाड़ना चाहते हैं वो। इसलिए हमारे सामने पुराने और नये का खास सवाल आता है अक्सर। और हम जानते हैं और आप के सामने आपको हिन्दुस्तान की बातें बाज़-बाज़ अजीब लगें, कुछ गलत भी लगें, ठीक है, अलग-अलग दंग होते हैं बाज़-बाज़ बात अमेरिका की हमारी समझ में नहीं आती लेकिन यह तो ऊपरी बातें होती हैं। असली बात, आप एक कौम को देखें, तो जरा ज्यादा गहरे जाना है, क्या चीज है उसके पीछे जिसने इस कौम को बढ़ाया, तरक्की दी, क्या चीज है जिसने हिन्दुस्तान को पाँच-सात हजार बरस से कायम रखा, कायम नहीं भेड़-बकरी की तरह, बल्कि एक जिन्दादिली से कायम रखा। जब गिरे भी तब भी हमारे दिमाग नहीं गिरे पूरीतर से, जिन्दा रहे और फिर उभरे।

उसी तरह से क्या चीज है अमेरिका के मुल्क ने जिसने इस डेढ़ - दो सौ बरस में यह जो लोग गए थे यूरोप से वहाँ बसने उनको इस जमाने में दुनिया का एक सबमें अव्वल मुल्क ताकत में, खुशहाली में कर दिया, क्या बात है? ऊपरी बातें नहीं होती हैं, एक अन्दर ताकत एक कौम की होती है जो कौम को बढ़ाती है। और यह आप कहें कि अमेरिका तो महज रुपये की लालच में रहता है, यह गलत बात है, है, रुपये का यहाँ चर्चा है, आपके यहाँ जो रुपये के चर्चा करने वाले काफी हैं जिनको कोई और बात नजर नहीं आती (हँसी) लेकिन एक ऐसा मुल्क जो इस तरह से तरक्की करे हजार फ़न में, उसमें और गहरी बातें होती हैं, तभी वह तरक्की करता है, तो फिर अमेरिका में वह गहरी बातें हैं। आपको कुछ पसन्द न हो, उनको हमारी बातें पसन्द न हो यह ऊपरी बातें हैं। हर मुल्क में खूबियाँ होती हैं, हर मुल्क में कमजोरियाँ होती हैं और हमें हर मुल्क की खूबियाँ देखनी चाहिए और उससे फायदा उठाना चाहिए। तो गरज कि यह एक अजीब जोड़ जो है, हमारा एक हजारों बरस पुराना मुल्क, पुरानी खूबियाँ की एक पोटली लेके, दूसरी पोटली दूसरे कंधे पर पुराने एबों की, दोनों पोटलियाँ लिए-लिए फिरते हैं हम। उसका मिलना एक नए मुल्क, जैसे अमेरिका है, नए ख्यालात, नया जोश, नई ताकत, नई शक्ति, एक माने रखता है, जिससे कम से कम हमें फायदा हो। बहरसूरत जहाँ तक हम हैं, हम इस रिश्ते को मुबारिक समझते हैं और कायम रखना चाहते हैं। (तालियाँ)

तो आप आए यहाँ और जैसे मैंने कहा, बहुत सारी शक्तें, रूप आपने हिन्दुस्तान की कौमों के देखे, दिल्ली शहर की सड़कों पर आप घूमे और लाखों दिल्ली के रहने वालों के चेहरे देखे। और इस वक्त यह एक आखिरी नजारा आपने देखा एक पांच लाख, या जो कुछ आपकी गिनती हो जो आप लोग बैठे हैं यहाँ, इनको, इस जमीन पर जिसका कि नाम रामलीला की जमीन है, बड़े-बड़े जलसे हुए हैं, शानदार जलसे, और हमारे बड़े-बड़े त्यौहार भी यहाँ होते हैं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ यह बात सही है कि इतना बड़ा जलसा और एक नए किस्म का त्यौहार

इस जमीन पर पहले नहीं हुआ है। (तालियाँ) तो अच्छा है कि आप जाएं यहाँ से कल सुबह तो इसकी याद लेके जायें और इसकी याद के पीछे यह ख्याल कि हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ से जो उसकी सबमें कीमती चीज थी वह आपको उसने कुछ नज़र की, वह अपने दिल का एक टुकड़ा। (तालियाँ)

[Translation begins:

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers,

Four days have passed since you came here and your visit is almost at an end.⁹¹ You will leave Delhi tomorrow morning for Iran. You have spent four days in India and during that time we have given you a great deal of trouble (Applause)

[Crowd Control]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Please, your Honour, there's no need for you to bother about controlling the crowd!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 15 DECEMBER 1959)

91. See fn 90 in this section.

[Communists Welcome Eisenhower]



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 13 DECEMBER 1959)

and tired you out by taking you about. But we were helpless. The matter was beyond the control of our government. (Applause) It had passed into the hands of the people of Delhi and it was impossible for us to impose any restrictions. You have seen many aspects of Delhi and India. I said India because Delhi mirrors the image of India in many ways.

You have been given many gifts but the biggest gift of all we have reserved for this evening, for this reception by millions of people who are gathered together to see and hear you. Innumerable people met you on the streets when you arrived. But perhaps the picture that you see before you just now will remain with you for a long, long time. (Applause) These four days will remain green in our memory too and will have a special significance in our history. These four days consisted not only of public meetings, speeches and crowds but an exchange of the emotional bond between two great nations as well. (Applause) I think you caught a glimpse of what lies in the heart and mind of

India. You may have perhaps got an inkling of our thoughts and feelings regarding your great country. I hope in particular that you may have understood a little, the fundamental forces which have moved this country with its innumerable communities in the past, as well as the pitfalls, difficulties and hardships that surround us.

India is a meeting ground, sea of humanity, of the good and the bad, of our weaknesses. There is at all times an inner conflict, a tension to bring our good points to the fore and to suppress our weaknesses. There was a time when we dreamt of freedom and there were many who were afraid to take on the might of British imperialism. But then came a human being among us, a thin, frail soft voiced individual whose name you are familiar with. Soon his voice began to reverberate in the country, in the ears of millions of our countrymen reminding us of where our duty lay. It reminded us that there can be no progress without freedom for any nation and until we have our birth right, as Lokmanya Tilak said, in full measure. So we embarked on a long journey towards freedom.

It was a dream but gradually, we saw it donning the garb of reality and ultimately India became free. Millions of Indians had reached their goal by marching on the path of peace and nonviolence. You repeated Gandhiji's words just now about the priceless treasure that freedom is. All of us realize that in full measure for except the very young, the people in India have had experience of both worlds, of slavery as well as freedom. So we are fully aware. But even at the time of our freedom struggle, our sight was fixed on the rest of the world and we often thought of other nations which were not free. We have always seen India's freedom, not as a thing apart but as an indivisible part of world freedom. So, our thoughts often strayed to other countries which were fighting for freedom and we extended our sympathy to them. Since then, during the last ten to twelve years, most of the countries of Asia and Africa under colonial dominance have become free. But even now there are some countries which are not independent and our sympathies lie with them because we feel that until such a state of bondage afflicts the world, the political climate of the world is not a healthy one. Similarly, so long as there is poverty anywhere in the world, it cannot be said to be healthy even if some parts are prosperous.

We have all seen the world changing in the last thirty to forty years and becoming more closely knit. You have come here by plane from a far distant country in a matter of hours and tomorrow morning you will leave for Teheran and arrive there within a few hours. In this close knit world of ours, freedom and bondage cannot exist side by side. (Applause) Nor can a situation where there is poverty and hardship in some parts of the world and affluence in others last for very long. It is bound to have a reaction and one will drag the other down leading to all kinds of malaise and affliction which can assault our very

freedom.

In short, right from the days of our freedom struggle we have borne in mind a few things at all times. One, we did not fight for India's freedom alone but that of the world, for the freedom of all the countries crushed by colonial dominance. Two, we have tried to view the question of our freedom as well as other interrelated questions in a particular perspective, the perspective of peace. I do not mean to tell you that the millions of us sitting here are all angels. We are weak mortals prone to anger and bad behaviour and often misbehave in a fit of passion. But at least there has always been a faith in our hearts that the path that we have chosen is the right one and that we should follow it with all our might. We had a commander in whom we had put our faith, in whose words we had complete trust and whose greatness often made us bow down our heads in shame. So, though we were men of very ordinary stature, by following the path shown by that great leader and high principles, we too grew a little under his shadow and imbibed new courage.

In this way, the face of India changed, a downtrodden nation in bondage acquired new strength, and we marched forth fearlessly. I would like to point out that even in that hour, our leader taught us one lesson, that we should betray enmity to no one. He taught us that our war was against British imperialism, not with the English people. Perhaps you will find very few examples of a national struggle which engendered so little bitterness and enmity. I do not say that we harboured no bitterness or resentment for we did because we were mere mortals like everyone else in the world. Any yet, Gandhiji had stamped us so indelibly with his values that we could never forget them. As you know, when we got our freedom twelve years ago through a mutual agreement between India and Britain, there was no trace of bitterness left between the two countries.

I would like you to think about this. How many countries can you name in the history of the world where after a national struggle for freedom, the two parties are friends, with no pressure on either side, each following its own path? We have often followed a path which may not have always been liked by the British statesmen and vice versa. But that has never created any barriers to our friendship with one another. It has always been a relationship based on mutual friendship, complete freedom, with each doing what we thought was proper. We even agreed to join the British Commonwealth of Nations on the condition that our independence as also the independence of all its other members was fully respected.

I have taken you back into ancient history because we have always kept two things in mind. One, we were determined to fight for our freedom by peaceful methods and two, that there should be no bitterness shown to the enemy. Some people may feel that these are idealistic notions which have nothing

to do with reality. But the world has taken a strange new turn which makes these principles more than ever relevant. Unless the world follows this path there can be a terrible disaster which you can appreciate better than all of us for you have had experience of war. To take any step which vitiates the atmosphere by creating bitterness and enmity leading to war is a crime against humanity and this world of ours. (Applause)

You have come to India as an honoured guest and we have accorded you an affectionate welcome. We would have done that whenever you came because you are the representative of a great nation which has been founded on the great principles that we believe in. We have read in our youth about the American Revolution and the sayings and beliefs of the American leaders of those days all of which have made a deep impact on our minds. Therefore, any American President would conjure up these impressions formed in our childhood and we would accord him great respect. But it is obvious and I do not have to say it, that your visit has occurred at a particularly felicitous moment because apart from the fact that you are a great human being and the President of the United States of America you have upheld the barrier of peace aloft in the world. (Applause) You are undertaking long journeys at some personal inconvenience in the cause of peace. This has transformed our respect into affection. The impact made on the heart is more powerful than that of the mind. But when the mind and the heart meet, the impact is indeed tremendous. (Applause)

In your speech just now, you hinted at what conditions in India are likely to be ten to fifteen years hence. We too have our dreams. There were people who did not believe that our dream of freedom of an independent India could ever come true. But we believed in our dreams and ultimately we made it come true. Today we dream of an India where every single man, woman and child, particularly the young will get all opportunities for leading a good life. We dream of putting an end to the poverty and misery which afflict them, through hard work and by our own skills. We dream of producing so much from our land and our industries that the people of India may become shareholders in that prosperity. From that vantage point, we must go on to conquer wider fields of intellectual attainments.

We dream of all this and have full faith that we can make it too. Many weaknesses, our population is too large and that the difficulties before us are nearly insurmountable are no doubt right. But perhaps what they fail to understand is that the people of India have got into the habit of climbing pinnacles, of meeting adversity unflinchingly and of crossing mighty oceans without fear. Therefore, somehow we have no fear in our hearts. We have confidence in ourselves, in our country and the people because we have been tried again and again and risen to the occasion. That does not mean that we

should become complacent or feel that the work will get done by itself. We are fully aware that the task before us is fraught with difficulties and requires great effort and sacrifice, not the kind of sacrifices that we had to make during the freedom struggle but of a different kind. It requires very hard work in order to build a new India. It means maintaining unity so that our energies are not frittered away and cooperation to help India on her march towards progress. A nation needs all this and will not grow merely by tall talk.

You mentioned that India or any other country in a similar situation needs aid in order to progress quickly. It is obvious that when resources are scarce, financial aid can give momentum to progress. That is true and we are grateful for the aid that we have got from your country and others. It is obvious that we want a faster rate of development and will accept any aid that is forthcoming gratefully. But at the same time, we are quite clear in our minds that a nation cannot progress except on its own steam by its own efforts and determination. (Applause) Therefore, we want to assure you that we will shoulder as much of the burden and more, on our own shoulders. If the nations which are friendly towards us, sympathize with our aspirations or accept our principles, wish to help, we have and will accept with thanks.

There is a strange conflict in today's world between the old and the new. Even this meeting symbolizes that conflict, held as it is between Old and New Delhi. (Applause) It is not merely a matter of a piece of land but of the mind. India faces grave problems of adjustment and compromise, of creating a viable synthesis between the old and new. Our previous heritage draws us on the one hand and on the other, the future beckons with new ideas which have changed and transformed the world. We can neither give up ancient heritage, nor can we refuse to change. This is our dilemma. But that does not mean that we should stick to everything old, however useless and irrelevant it may be. It is obvious that we must choose and retain the good from our past, values and principles which have given this country of ours strength and added to its grandeur. But we must give up the useless accretions of the past because even the best of institutions often accumulates a great deal of dust and dirt which have to be cleansed.

A new world is opening up before us and we like many of the new ideas. Unless we imbibe them, there can be no strength or prosperity for India, and in fact, our freedom itself may be in peril. But there are several things in the new world too which are not very pretty. We have to move with the times and adopt what we can from the new world to make us strong and affluent while holding on to our ancient moorings.

India is a very old country which is trying to rejuvenate itself and succeeding to a large extent. Compared to India's long history, yours is a new nation with

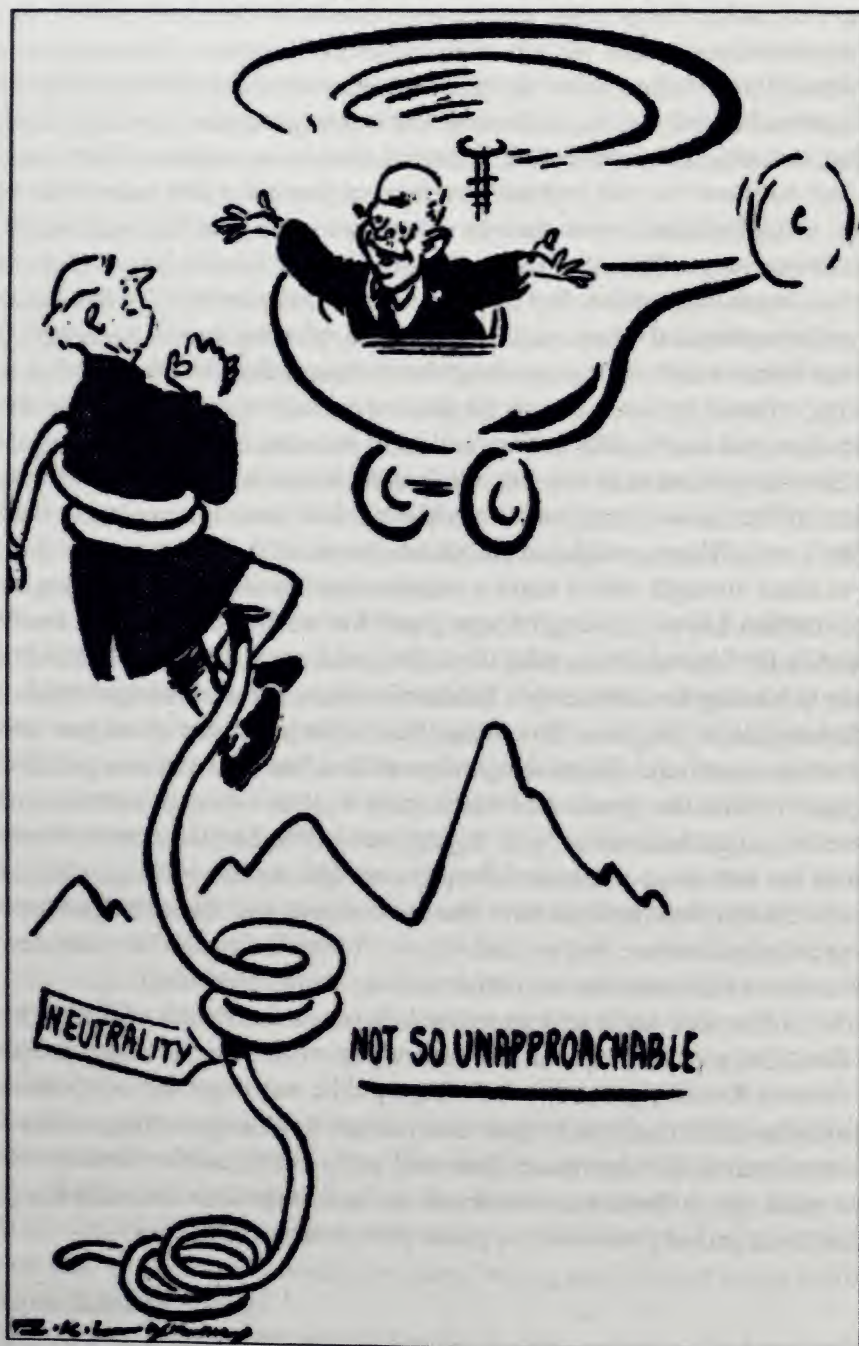
a history of 250 years or so. Even the new city of Delhi is older than that, leave aside Old Delhi. But you are more experienced and old hands in the ways of the new world whereas we are newcomers to the game. The question of a synthesis between the old and the new is in a sense relevant to the whole world and particularly so far India because our roots go down very deep into the Indian soil which can neither be uprooted, nor do we wish to. Therefore, the conflict between the old and the new is ever present. I am aware that many things about India may seem strange or even wrong to you. But each nation has its different ways. There are many things about the United States of America that we do not understand. But those are superficial matters. You have to delve deeper to understand what a nation is all about, where it draws its strength from and the forces which have kept it together for more than five thousand years as a living, vibrant nation. Even in the darkest periods of our history, we did not quite close our intellectual calibre and have bounced back again and again.

Similarly, what is it that has made the United States of America from a nation of European immigrants into the world's leading country in military strength and affluence within a couple of centuries? It is not superficial things but an inner strength which make a nation what it is. It would be wrong to say that America knows nothing except greed for wealth though there are many people in the United States who think only of money. (Applause) The United States is leading in innumerable fields of science and technology which have contributed to its progress. The things that we may not like about one another are merely superficial. There are good as well as bad points in every nation and we must imbibe the good and benefit from it. It is a strange meeting ground where we, an ancient nation with its previous heritage of thousands of years as well as the useless accretions of the past, are face to face with a young nation like the United State with its new ideas and vigour and strength. This meeting has great significance for us and we must benefit by it. We consider this association a felicitous one and wish to keep it up. (Applause)

You have seen India and its myriad forms on the streets of Delhi. In this last function, you have spread out before you more than five lakh people on this famous Ramlila grounds where huge public meetings and celebrations of festivals have been held in the past. But I do not think any meeting on this scale has ever been held. (Applause) You will carry with you the memory of this event when you go from here tomorrow and with it the idea that India has given you its most prized possession, a place in its heart. (Applause)

Translation ends.]

[The Rope Trick for Eisenhower]



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 13 DECEMBER 1959)

185. To MEA: Discussions with Eisenhower—⁹²

I had a fairly long talk with President Eisenhower this evening lasting a little over two hours. No one else was present. We covered a great deal of ground and discussed a variety of topics. I should like to write a fairly detailed note on this talk, but it is late tonight and I have also other urgent work to do for the Lok Sabha tomorrow. Therefore, this note will have to wait a day or two.

2. I might mention that the talk was fairly frank and intimate, and it gave me a glimpse into Mr. Eisenhower's mind.

3. I might, however, mention some of the topics that we discussed. This will serve as a reminder to me also when I want to write the note later. We talked about Algeria and France, about Goa and Portugal, about Pondicherry, about Pakistan and Kashmir and other problems relating to Pakistan, about China and our borders in NEFA and Ladakh, about the prospects of the Summit Conference which, he said, might be held about April 23rd. He himself intended going to Moscow in June. I told him that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was going to be held on the 3rd May. He had not heard of this.

4. I mentioned also our desire for closer cooperation between our Atomic Energy Department and the U.S. Atomic Energy Department, more especially in the setting up of atomic power stations for producing energy for peaceful purposes.⁹³ He was attracted by this idea and said he would look into it and will try to send some experts to discuss this with our people.

5. Previously, he had told me about his visits to Rome, Greece, Turkey, Pakistan and Afghanistan. He is evidently a little worried about the increasing Soviet contacts with Afghanistan and, more especially, the large number of Russian bombers etc. which he saw there. He welcomed the better relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. but was, at the same time, not quite sure if he could trust the Soviet Union.

6. He told me that he entirely disagreed with some people in America who were criticising India's policy of "neutrality" (he used this word) and saying that help should not be given to India for her development unless she lined up with the western countries. For his part, he thought that India's policy was quite correct and he did not want India to change it, though, of course, he wanted India in friendly contact with the United States.

92. Note to N. R. Pillai, S Dutt and M.J. Desai, 13 December 1959. File No. 13-11/58-KU, MEA.

For the US record of these talks, see Glenn W. LaFantasie ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960*, vol. XV, South and Southeast Asia (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1992), document nos 247 and 248.

93. See items 138-139.

7. He said he would like to correspond with me on a personal and intimate level without the State Department coming in the way. He had started such correspondence with Mr. Khrushchev with good results. I welcomed the proposal.

186. To Eisenhower: Reply to Eisenhower's Note on Iran⁹⁴

December 16, 1959

My dear Mr. President,

I have received today through Ambassador Bunker⁹⁵ the message that you were good enough to send me from Athens. I am very grateful to you for this message. I am glad to learn that the Shah of Iran is taking some effective steps in regard to land reform. For several years I have thought that this was the most urgently needed reform in Iran. I feel sure that if real and effective steps are taken in regard to it, the situation in Iran will improve considerably.

Delhi is now gradually coming back to normal after the exciting and moving days of your visit here. I need not tell you, as you have seen this for yourself how powerfully your visit affected the people of Delhi, and, I might say, the people of India as a whole. Your presence and your inspiring talks have gone down deep in their minds and hearts and created additional bonds of friendship between India and the United States.

I am particularly grateful to you for the full and frank talks that we had. They have helped me greatly in understanding many of the problems of today. I look forward to our keeping in touch with each other on the personal level, and I shall always welcome any communication from you which will help me to understand the great developments that are taking place in the world scene.

During your visit to Delhi, I was anxious that we should not do anything which might put a strain on your health, even though such a tremendous popular welcome has undoubtedly a cheering effect. I trust that you are keeping well.

94. Letter.

95. Appendix 10.

May I again thank you and express my earnest hope that you will continue in good health to carry on the great tasks that you have undertaken, and that your efforts will take the world nearer to peace?

With cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

187. To Cabinet Ministers and MEA: Discussions with Eisenhower-II⁹⁶

Talks with President Eisenhower

In the course of President Eisenhower's stay in Delhi, I had several talks with him covering a large variety of subjects. It is difficult to write at length now about these talks, but I am recording this more or less brief note for record.

2. Except on one occasion when some of his officers and some officials of our External Affairs Ministry were present, all our talks were confined to us only.

3. He began by telling me of his visit to various places he had gone to before he reached India, that is, Rome, Ankara, Karachi and Kabul, and perhaps some other place too. There was nothing special in what he said then except that he expressed some apprehension about Afghanistan. He had seen large numbers of military bombers there which the Soviet had supplied to Afghanistan. Also he had seen many Russians about. This apprehension was increased when he heard the Pakistan account of Russian help to Afghanistan.

4. This had led him to refer to Pakistan and India's relations with it. He mentioned rather indirectly the question of India and Pakistan cooperating against any incursion by China. I pointed out to him that this was not at all feasible for a variety of reasons. All that we would like Pakistan to do would be not to stab us in the back if we had trouble with China. The President warmed up at this and said that if Pakistan misbehaved in this way, he would come down heavily against it. He explained his reasons for giving military aid to Pakistan and that on no account would the United States permit Pakistan to use this aid against India. In fact, they could not use it very effectively as they were not supplied with much ammunition.

96. Note to G.B. Pant, Morarji Desai, Krishna Menon, N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt, M.J. Desai, 17 December 1959. File No. 13-11/58-KU, MEA.

5. He asked me to tell him what our border situation was vis-a-vis China and expressed the hope that this would be settled peacefully. When he heard about the treatment of Indian prisoners in Ladakh, he was reminded immediately of American prisoners in China about which he had always felt strongly.

6. We discussed Algeria for some time and he expressed his great concern about the Algerian situation. He said that he was worried about it, although he felt that the latest offer made by President de Gaulle was a fairly good one and offered a chance of a settlement. President de Gaulle was very touchy about Algeria and demanded full support for France in regard to Algeria. The U.S. had tried to influence him in so far as they could to come to terms with the Algerian nationalists. de Gaulle used this question of Algeria whenever other questions came up, like the Summit, etc. The price he wanted was support for his policy in Algeria.

7. In my speech at the Ramlila Grounds,⁹⁷ I had mentioned countries that still were not free. I had not mentioned Algeria by name. President Eisenhower told me afterwards that when I was referring to those countries, he was expecting me to mention Algeria also. I told him that our policy was not to run down France or to embarrass her. In fact, we had deliberately avoided any expression of condemnation of France, but at the same time, we were naturally committed to full freedom of Algeria, and we had pressed for this whenever occasion offered itself.

8. This led to some talk about Pondicherry, and I told him what the present position was. Immediately he noted this down. I told him that I did not want him to raise this matter with de Gaulle. I had merely explained the position for his own information.

9. He discussed the proposed Summit Conference with me and talked about trends in the Soviet Union. I told him that I was convinced that the Soviet Union and more especially Mr. Khrushchev keenly desired some kind of a settlement and were committed to peace. I could not say the same thing about China. He said that he himself felt that Khrushchev desired peace and he had welcomed better relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. At the same time, he could not get rid of a certain lack of trust of the Soviet Union.

10. Discussing Pakistan, he told me that he was impressed by President Ayub Khan. He referred to the Basic Democracy scheme there also. I pointed out that this scheme seemed to me very far from any kind of democracy and I was not impressed by it at all. Discussing Kashmir, President Ayub Khan had warmed up and pointed out the grave injury which his country was suffering

97. See item 184.

because of this Kashmir problem not being settled. He had referred to the various rivers going through Kashmir and that their life depended upon them. I explained to him briefly the situation about these rivers as well as some other matters. He had apparently asked Ayub Khan if some settlement could not be arrived at on the basis of the present Cease-Fire Line. Ayub Khan had clearly stated that this was not possible. He had also said that the present Cease-Fire Line was entirely artificial. He had talked about dangers to frontier, etc.

11. When the President asked me about this, I said that I agreed that the present Cease-Fire Line was in many places artificial and even split up a village and the argument that Ayub Khan had raised about having a proper frontier applied to us much more. We had been concerned about this previously, but since the new developments in regard to the frontier with China, we had been more concerned about it. Pakistan internally was very weak and it could not be ruled out that internal changes there in the future might make them line up with the Communist countries. We do not like this prospect. I certainly did not expect the Soviet Union to attack India or even Pakistan. I thought also it unlikely that China would attack Pakistan. But looking ahead, it seemed to me possible for internal changes in Pakistan to take place which might facilitate China to take some place at their door. We were concerned about this matter, and this was one aspect of this Kashmir problem that was before us. We could take no risks about it, apart from other reasons.

12. He discussed the Summit Conference and said that the date for it would probably be fixed at the Western Summit meeting which is going to be held soon. The Summit would take place probably on April 23. He himself intended going to Moscow in June.

13. We spoke about Iran and I particularly emphasized the urgency of the land problem there. The whole country was in the hands of a few major landlords and all the help that might be given to Iran could not strengthen it unless effective steps were taken in regard to land reform. He agreed. It is interesting to note that I received a message from President Eisenhower yesterday from Athens.⁹⁸ In this message he said that he had discussed the land reform with the Shah of Iran and the Shah had assured him that within a few days he was going to take effective steps to put an end to these large landed estates. The Shah had agreed to this information being sent on to me, although he wanted to treat it as confidential for the present.

14. We discussed Goa also and the state of affairs in Portugal and its colonies. The President has rather a soft corner for Salazar who has impressed him as a professorial type.

98. See Appendix 10.

15. There was some reference in our talks to the general situation in Africa, more especially in the countries which had newly become independent.

16. He told me that some people in America had criticised India's policy of "neutrality" (he used this word) and even said that because of this, no big help should be given to India for development. For his part, he disagreed with this entirely and thought that India's policy was quite correct. Indeed, he did not want India to change it, though he wanted India and the U.S. to be close friends.

17. In the course of our talks, we discussed France and Germany, and disarmament and the Geneva Conference on Nuclear Tests, which he hoped would lead to some kind of success. There were other subjects to which we discussed briefly.

18. He said he would like to correspond with me on a personal and intimate level without the State Department coming in the way. He had started such correspondence with Mr. Khrushchev with good results. I told him that I would welcome this.

19. The question of aid for our developmental programmes was not directly discussed or indeed mentioned. But our broad approach in our Five Year Plans was discussed briefly and the necessity for us to go ahead fast.

20. I mentioned to him our desire for closer cooperation between our Atomic Energy Department and the U.S. Atomic Energy Department; more especially we wanted this cooperation in setting up atomic power stations for producing energy for peaceful purposes. He was attracted to this idea and said he would look into it and send some experts to discuss it with our people.

188. To M. J. Desai: Discussions with Eisenhower—III⁹⁹

In my note about my talks with President Eisenhower, I forgot to mention one matter. When talking about Pakistan, I had said to the President that I had been offering a "no war agreement" to Pakistan for several years. I had explained this meant both countries should take care not to have recourse to war or military measures against each other in order to settle any of our problems. We should, of course try to settle our problems independently but regardless of that we should come to this firm conclusion we would not go to war with each other. That itself would improve conditions greatly and help in settling the problems.

99. Note to M.J. Desai, 18 December 1959. File No. 13-11/58-KU, MEA.

2. I had even gone further and said that so far as India was concerned, we would act up to a "no war declaration" in regard to Pakistan, even though Pakistan did not make such a declaration. Only if we were attacked by Pakistan would we defend ourselves.

3. The Pakistan leaders had not agreed to this proposal of ours which had been repeated many times.

4. The President said that it would be a very good thing if such a "no war agreement" was arrived at between India and Pakistan.

5. I have today received a message from President Eisenhower. This is as follows:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

After reflecting on our last evening's conversation I have instructed my Ambassador in Karachi to discuss with Ayub personally on a strictly confidential basis the thought you expressed regarding the possibility of a joint declaration or separate statements by India and Pakistan. This would be to the effect that all questions between them for the indefinite future will be settled by peaceful negotiations, i.e., without resort to force or war. As I told you, I am not trying to be a mediator but I also said I should like to repeat to President Ayub your feelings on the matter, as I told you of his. My Ambassador will stress to Ayub the great importance attached to such an initiative not only to the parties directly concerned but to the entire free world. I am sure President Ayub will understand the importance this might have in respect of United States assistance to Pakistan in the future, particularly as to his hope of modernizing his regular forces.

I shall hope to inform you as soon as possible of Ayub's reaction or other developments. It does seem to me that your inspiration could lead to a substantial step forward; but I do not minimize your difficulties in this field. I know they are many. Should any type of useful information come to my notice I shall inform you promptly.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

(h) Other countries

189. To W. Dahanayake: Rethinking the Afro-Asia Conference¹⁰⁰

December 2, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 26th October which I received through your High Commissioner¹⁰¹ in Delhi on 5th November.

I fully appreciate that, with the changed situation, it will not be possible to make necessary arrangements in Colombo for the holding of the economic conference of Asian-African countries in accordance with the initiative taken by your predecessor, the late Mr. Bandaranaike.

I have carefully considered the two alternatives, suggested in your letter, in consultation with my colleagues and our planning and economic experts. Our experts would be fully occupied during the next few months with the preparation of our Third Five Year Plan. Later on, they will be preoccupied with the complex and detailed discussions between various Ministries and between the Union Government and the State Governments and other agencies which will precede the finalisation of our Third Five Year Plan. Under the circumstances, it will not be possible for us, even if no other consideration were involved, to hold the Conference in Delhi during the next six or eight months.

In my first letter of 20th April, 1958,¹⁰² on the subject of this Conference, I had indicated my preliminary reactions to the late Mr. Bandaranaike and pointed out a number of difficulties in the way of holding such a conference. These difficulties have, if anything, increased considerably since.

The Burmese Government, who have so far refused to participate, are now preoccupied with their forthcoming elections. The new Government will, naturally, require time to settle down before they can reconsider the decision of the present Government. As you know, we are having difficulties in our relations with China over border questions. The Indonesians are also having difficulties in their relations with China. Pakistan-Afghanistan relations are considerably strained though our relations with Pakistan have shown some improvement in the last couple of months. In West Asia, Iraq and U.A.R. relations have, if anything, gone worse. There is great political ferment in Africa and the

100. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.

101. Sir Richard Aluwihare.

102. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 704-706

independent African countries, who have conferred more than once during the last 12 months, still have considerable differences over various matters.

Everything considered, I feel, particularly in view of the position stated in paras 4 and 5 above, that your second suggestion is a wise one. It will be more judicious to abandon the idea of the Conference for the present. It can be revived later when prevailing difficulties in the Afro-Asian countries have disappeared or have eased to some extent. I am hopeful that the atmosphere, not only in Africa and Asia but also in most parts of the world, will improve after the summit conference between the Big Powers which is likely to be held sometime during 1960.

With kind personal regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

190. To MEA: Meeting with Soviet Ambassador¹⁰³

The Soviet Ambassador¹⁰⁴ came to see me this evening. He said that he had come under instructions from his Government to speak to me about—

- (1) Disarmament,
- (2) Cessation of nuclear tests, and
- (3) The proposed Summit Conference

2. Disarmament. He referred to the coming talks on disarmament. The Soviet Government considered the question of disarmament as a most important problem which should be solved in a complete and total way. The United States had asked for a postponement of the Committee's meeting till February 1960. The Soviet Government was agreeable to this if the other Powers concerned wanted that date. The Soviet Government will do its utmost to achieve success in disarmament, and they were prepaid to consider amendments to their plan.

3. Cessation of nuclear tests. The U.S.S.R. attached great importance to the Geneva talks on the cessation of nuclear tests. These talks had already achieved some substantial results. Even on the points on which there had not been agreement yet, the two viewpoints had come closer to each other. The main issue now was one of Inspection Groups going to other countries. At first the U.S.A. had insisted on an unlimited right of these Inspection Groups to go

103. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt, M.J. Desai, 8 December 1959. Copied to Krishna Menon.

104. Ivan Alexandrovich Benediktov.

when and where they chose. The U.S.S.R. did not and could not agree to this.

4. The Soviet proposed then that there should be a limited number of inspections, say two every year. This could take place at any time. The Western Powers then said that the number of such inspections should be dependent on the number of unidentified phenomena. There was a deadlock.

5. Then the Soviet tried to meet the Western Powers half way. They suggested that the working committee should meet and consider the new seismic data that was available. This committee was now meeting in Geneva, and the Soviet Government was doing its utmost to bring about an agreement. This agreement now depended on the Western Powers.

6. The Ambassador said that the Soviet Government hoped that the other countries who were not on this working committee would now multiply their efforts to bring about a cessation of nuclear tests. In other words, India should use her influence to this end at this stage. The Soviet recognised the good work that India had done in regard to this matter in the past.

7. Summit Meeting. This again was considered of great importance. There had been an exchange of opinion recently about the date between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower. An agreement might be reached after Mr. Khrushchev visits de Gaulle. Mr. Eisenhower will also consult his Western friends about the timing.

8. Finally, the Ambassador said that this information was being given to me as these subjects might come up in my talks with President Eisenhower, and the Soviet Government wanted to keep me informed of these developments.

9. The Ambassador invited me specially to visit the Soviet pavilion at the Agricultural Fair here. He said that they proposed to get various types of animals, etc. by air from the Soviet Union. These would include horses, cattle, pigs, poultry, ducks, geese, etc.

191. To Patrick B. Duncan: Racial Discrimination¹⁰⁵

December 11, 1959

Dear Mr. Duncan,

I have received your letter of the 3rd December 1959.

Our views on the subject of racial equality are very well known and have often been expressed in public as well as in private. We think that in the modern

105. Letter to Patrick B. Duncan, white leader against apartheid in South Africa; son of Sir Patrick Duncan, former British Governor General of South Africa. See *New York Times*, 6 June 1967. Copied to N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai.

world the furtherance of racial inequality by State policies is not only undesirable in itself but also dangerous for the future. This is opposed to the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as to the principles on which, we have presumed, the Commonwealth stands. The British Government have often declared themselves against it. To introduce this principle even in the realm of sports appears to us to be utterly wrong.

You know that there has been a long standing conflict of opinion in this matter between our Government and people and the Government of the Union of South Africa, and we have pressed this matter in the United Nations year after year. We have, of course, privately also expressed our views on this subject in the Commonwealth and shall continue to do so whenever occasion arises.

Because of this and because of our peculiar and unhappy relations with the South African Government, it is often rather embarrassing for us to raise any such matter in connection with South Africa. This sometimes appears to be the result of some kind of private grievance of ours. As a matter of fact, there is no private grievance involved in it and we have no desire to be unfriendly to the South African Government or people. But we do feel strongly on this question of racial inequality.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

192. To Harold Macmillan: Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meet¹⁰⁶

Thank you for your message in connection with the announcement you propose to make regarding the date of announcement of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. I received this message through your High Commissioner on 10th December.

I accept the date and agree to the announcement being made as proposed in your message.

President Eisenhower has been with us for the last three days and he leaves on 14th. His has been an inspiring visit and we have all been happy to welcome and wish all success to this great messenger of peace.

106. Telegram to the Prime Minister of Britain, 12 December 1959, London.

I am looking forward to meeting you and our other Commonwealth colleagues in May.

With kind regards,
Jawaharlal Nehru

193. At Banquet: Erlander's Leadership¹⁰⁷

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, a few days ago we had the privilege of welcoming with great warmth and cordiality the distinguished Head of a great nation.¹⁰⁸ Today it is a peculiar pleasure to us to welcome you, Sir, and Madame. Your country is not nearly as big as the United States of America or India, but we have long learnt to attach value not to bigness but to other qualities in a nation. And among those qualities your country appears to possess many in an abundant measure. You have built up a society which is free, democratic, progressive, and which has ensured to its people a high standard of living and social security. Two and a half years ago I visited you and you were good enough—and your people—to give me a warm welcome and cordial welcome. I saw that beautiful country a little bit of it, and more especially, I was naturally interested in the schemes of social security and the great advance you have made in the cooperative movement and in so many other things in which you are distinguished.

I said then, I remember, that in this changing world, where governments change frequently and Prime Ministers come and go, the Prime Ministers of Sweden and India had managed to stay on for a long time. (Applause) For in that matter, you, Sir, as Prime Minister, are a year ahead of me. I believe you have been Prime Minister for over thirteen years now, and I have been Prime Minister only for twelve. Before that for many years you were a Minister also, and it is during the period of your stewardship in Sweden that great reforms have been introduced—and more especially in the realm of social security and high standards have been obtained. All this has been done in a society, in a structure of government which is as free as any in the world and where everyone has opportunities for progress and advancement.

107. Speech at State Banquet in honour of Erlander's visit, 19 December 1959, New Delhi. AIR tapes, NMML.

108. Nehru is referring to Eisenhower's visit.

I ventured to compare your long period of stewardship in Sweden with mine which is somewhat lesser, but when I think of this I would wish, that the tremendous achievements which you have brought about in Sweden during your period might have been ours also. But our achievements naturally cannot compare. Of course, the backgrounds have been different and we had to stand and start at a very much lower level. But I believe it is true to say that in so many things, in some of our basic policies, whether external or internal, in our outlooks there has been a very great deal of similarity. Indeed, if I may say so, we look upon your country as a model State to which kind of State we would like to aspire in India in many ways.

Your people have had one rather unique experience which, I doubt, if many countries or any country has had. You have been free from war for 190 years. Even though tremendous and disastrous wars raged all round you, yet you kept yourself out of them, not through any weakness, but through strength of will and policy and the strength of the nation. As a result of that and your other qualities, you have built up Sweden as she is today, and now you follow a policy which is dear to us and which we have tried to follow firmly and propose to follow in the future, that is, a policy of nonalignment which is sometimes rather mistakenly called neutrality—non-involvement in military alliances and nonalignment. And so, wherever we have had occasion to work together, whether in the United Nations or elsewhere, there has been a great deal of cooperation between our representatives and delegations on these broader matters, whether it is this policy or whether it is a policy of the banning of nuclear weapons or of progressive disarmament, or something in regard to which your country has declared its policy with the greatest firmness—its opposition to racial inequality. So we have worked together in many fields, and we have tried to learn many things from your country's example and the way you have built up social democracy in that country.

I hope the time may come when we might also take some pride and pleasure in advancing much more along that line. In that process I am sure we can learn much from you and we propose to do so. So, for a variety of reasons, we welcome you and Madame here. And one thing also which has struck us is that, in spite of your high standards, in spite of the many things you have achieved in agriculture and industry, yet, in a sense, if I may say so without disrespect, you are a simple people, not pompous as some of us are, dignified and there is certain graciousness about the life of your people which is not always evident in the world today. For all this and for your own self, Sir, who has been such a builder of modern Sweden, we welcome you.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of the Prime Minister of Sweden and Madame Erlander.

194. To Josip Broz Tito: Survey of World Affairs¹⁰⁹

December 22, 1959

My dear President Tito,

I wrote to you some time ago and promised to write at greater length later in reply to your letter of October 25. I am sorry for the delay in writing to you. I have been very heavily occupied during the last two months with the sessions of our parliament and in other ways. The developing situation on our borders with China has naturally troubled us greatly both in the present and for the future. Then we have had visits of eminent dignitaries, including President Eisenhower.

Although we are naturally concerned most with our internal problems and the drafting of the Third Five Year Plan, as well as the border situation, I entirely agree with you that the most important development in the international sphere has been the closer approach of President Eisenhower and the Soviet Premier Khrushchev to each other. For the first time we see a streak of light in the horizon and a lessening of the tensions in the west. There is certainly some hope now for further steps to be taken although there are many obstacles in the way. I am convinced, however, that both Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev are keenly desirous, perhaps for different reasons, to find a way out of the deadlock in the west. That is the impression I have got from communications from Mr. Khrushchev as well as my recent talks with President Eisenhower. But it is, nevertheless, true that we must not be too optimistic. On the whole, while Mr. Eisenhower and the Prime Minister of England are favourably inclined towards peaceful settlements, the attitude of Chancellor Adenauer and President de Gaulle is not so favourable.

There can be no doubt, however, that world opinion in all these countries is strongly in favour of peaceful approaches towards a settlement. That settlement may be delayed because it is too much to expect that governments and peoples will easily get rid of their fears and inhibitions. Probably progress will be slow, but if it is continued, step by step the cold war tensions will lessen.

As you have pointed out, the resolution on Disarmament passed unanimously by the United Nations is a happy sign. The Soviet proposal for complete disarmament may not be feasible in the near future, but it is right to aim at it and to try to attain it by progressive steps. Another good sign is the progress being made at Geneva in regard to the banning of nuclear tests.

109. Letter to the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

I had long talks with President Eisenhower about a variety of problems. These included primarily the proposed Summit Conference and Disarmament as well as our own troubles on our borders with China. We discussed also questions like Algeria and the French attitude which was so rigid. Eisenhower was troubled at the Soviet aid given to Afghanistan. I do not personally see any danger there, though I do not approve of military aid being given free to any country. I think that the Pakistan President influenced Eisenhower about the new situation that had arisen in Afghanistan because of Soviet aid. Eisenhower himself saw a large number of MIGs at the Afghan airfield which impressed him. Also the fact that the Soviet were building roads in Afghanistan from their frontier also troubled him. I told him that I was convinced that no danger of invasion lay there. Indeed, my own impression is that Russia is territorially a satisfied power and would on no account like to risk a war and thus lose all that she has got. If the United States give free military aid to Pakistan in considerable quantity, it is difficult to object to the Soviet giving similar aid to Afghanistan.

Eisenhower told me that the Summit Conference was likely to be held in the last week of April. This has apparently been confirmed at the meeting in Paris between Western Heads of States. Soon after that meeting, early in May, there is going to be a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, which I hope to attend.

In your letter, you suggest that these Summit Conferences should not be limited to the four Great Powers. There is no reason why they should decide the fate of other nations. That, I agree with you, is true. But, to begin with, I think it is better for these four Powers to meet and come to some conclusions. If a larger conference is held at the beginning, the chances of agreement will be lessened, but it would certainly be desirable, at a later stage, for an enlarged conference to be held.

I have not at all been happy about developments in Iraq. The situation there continues to be lacking in stability and there is too much violence in the air on every side. It is a pity, I think, that a fierce war of words goes on between Iraq and the U.A.R. General Kassem has some virtues, but he does not appear to have much poise and is apt to go to extremes. On the other hand, in Egypt also the attitude towards Iraq is often very aggressive and condemnatory. All this leads to continuing tension.

Our main preoccupation in India is now the drawing up of the Third Five Year Plan. This has been inevitably affected by our border situation. The Chinese Government has not acted in a fair manner towards India, apart from any, claims they might have. Even these claims are based on distant and past possessions of Tibet which the Chinese Government claims to have inherited. If we go back into past history, every country can make large claims on its neighbours. I am

sure that our case in regard to these border claims is a strong one, except for two or three minor enclaves which have been in dispute. Apart from the rights and wrongs in this matter, the way the Chinese have crept in into large mountain areas of our border, chiefly during the last summer was very wrong. Most of these areas are uninhabited and at a high altitude varying from about 14,000 feet to 19,000 feet. Hardly anybody lives there and there has been no administration. The terrain is difficult. The Chinese were checked on our north-eastern border by our check-posts, but further north in Ladakh they have crept in over a large area and established entrenched positions in various places. There is very strong feeling in India over this matter. People here felt more especially that China had in a sense betrayed us. This development has led our rightist and conservative groups to exploit it to their advantage and they have adopted a very bellicose attitude. In fact, their chief interest has been to condemn our Government. To some extent, people here are realising this move of our opposition parties and are a little more wary now than they were some time ago.

I have continued my attempt to find a peaceful solution. At the same time, we have naturally to think in more realistic terms of the defence of our border and have to prepare for it to the host of our ability.

While the present is difficult, I am concerned also with the future. India and China are neighbours with a frontier of 2600 miles. It is true that the frontier is a difficult and mountainous one. For the first time in history, this frontier, which had been rather dead, has suddenly become very much alive. It is an unpleasant thought that we should have a hostile frontier of this length in the future, and yet, I fear, that the passions, that have been roused in both India and China on this subject will not cool down easily even if some temporary settlement is arrived at. We have thus a difficult future ahead of us.

I had a letter a few days ago from Premier Chou En-lai. Although this was in answer to my letter to his making some proposals for the interim period, he has not dealt with any of the points that I had raised and has, in fact, reiterated his demands. He suggested my meeting him on the 26th of this month in China or Rangoon. I have a feeling that this proposal for a quick meeting was not really meant and was more perhaps for the sake of propaganda. I could not, in any event, have gone to Rangoon or elsewhere within this short period. But, apart from this, I do not see what we can discuss at a short meeting when we differ greatly even as regards the facts of the situation. There must be some common basis for talks. I have expressed my willingness to meet him, but suggested also that certain interim measures should be taken and some basis for talks arrived at.

It is rather difficult to find out what the internal situation is in China. There

can be no doubt that great progress has been made there both in agriculture and industry, even though the claims that have been made are exaggerated. I think it is also true that internal difficulties are considerable and there are many arguments going on in the higher circles of Government. As you know, for the last two years or so, the attitude of the Chinese authorities has grown very rigid both internally and externally. Their attacks on Yugoslavia were, in our opinion, completely unwarranted. Why China should make a special target of Yugoslavia when there were no special problems between these two countries, surprised me. Some people have suggested that many of the criticisms they made of Yugoslavia were indirectly meant for some developments in the Soviet Union. However that may be, the People's Government of China represents today an aggressive and potentially dangerous force. When it grows stronger and its vast population becomes vaster still, the situation will become very explosive.

Although these far-eastern problems are not likely to be considered by the Summit Meeting, there can be no doubt that any agreement in the west will have its repercussions in Eastern Asia. It is, of course, impossible to conceive of any Disarmament Agreement which leaves out China.

With my cordial regards to you and Madame, your wife.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

195. To MEA: Meeting with Italian Ambassador¹¹⁰

The Italian Ambassador¹¹¹ came to see me this morning. He spoke to me about the forthcoming visit of President Gronchi of Italy to Moscow and pointed out that this was the first occasion when a Head of a State from the Western nations was going to Moscow. He wanted me to tell him what I thought of the relations of Russia and China now. Also about aid to underdeveloped nations—which was the best method of giving this aid?

I gave him broadly my views about Summit Meeting, friendly approaches and that it was my conviction that the Soviet Union was anxious to make some progress in regard to a settlement and this should be encouraged. As for China and Russia, it was obvious that they were closely allied and neither could or

110. Note to N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt, 29 December 1959.

111. Justogiusti Del Giardino.

would break that alliance. At the same time, it appeared that they did not agree about some matters.

The Ambassador then gave me four papers which I enclose. One of these refers to the Centenary Celebration of the Unity of Italy, when it is proposed, an International Labour Exhibition will be organised at Turin from May to October 1961. They wanted very much India to participate in this exhibition, but had been told that it was not possible for India to do so. The Ambassador made a request for the reconsideration of this matter.

It seems to me that this Centenary is an important one and should be looked at not only from departmental view, but from a broader viewpoint and we should participate in it. You might take this up with the Ministry concerned.

The second paper is about Fiat's desire to do something here in regard to production of a low cost car. This paper might be sent to the Commerce & Industry Ministry.¹¹²

The third paper deals with technical collaboration between India and Italian industry. In particular, the project of making tyres here is mentioned. I was invited to perform the opening ceremony of this. I told the Ambassador that I could not find time for this kind of function and normally I did not go to them. I agreed, however, to send a message at the appropriate time.

The fourth paper deals with Count Vittorio Cini who is in India now. The Ambassador told me that he was an outstanding man and that it would be a good thing if I met him. I said that I would gladly meet him, but this was difficult in the next few days or weeks. If he was here later, I would meet him.

112. See item 92.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

196. To Chou En-lai: Acknowledgement of Birthday Greetings¹

December 1, 1959

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

Thank you for your greetings and good wishes on my birthday. I greatly appreciate them. It will be my endeavour in the future, as it has always been in the past, to promote friendship between our two countries for our mutual good and in the interest of world peace.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

197. To Hanna Reitsch: Glider Pilots²

December 1, 1959

Dear Hanna Reitsch,

A few days ago, I received your telegram of greeting on my birthday. I was happy to get it, and I thank you for it.

I have now received your letter of the 12th November through our Embassy at Bonn. I am grateful to Dr. von Brentano for his invitation to our glider pilots who might go to Germany, and I thank you for giving us your own ideas as to who should be selected. Your advice is very helpful to us. I am communicating the contents of your letter to both our Civil Aviation Department and our Air Headquarters.

All good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter.

2. Letter to Hanna Reitsch, German pilot and founder of the first African National Gliding School at Ghana. File No. 2(57)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

198. To Muhammad Hamidullah Khan: High Altitude Communications³

December 1, 1959

My dear Nawab Sahib

Thank you for your letter of the 30th November. I am grateful for what you have written and your offer.

It is difficult to say how the situation on our border will develop. Probably in these winter months, nothing very extraordinary is likely to happen. We are, however, in any event, taking measures to defend it.

This frontier, as you know, is very mountainous, and the altitude even of the valleys is very high. Generally it varies from about 13,000 ft. to 17,000 ft. or even more. Communications are exceedingly difficult. A jeep cannot go there. Even a horse cannot go to some places.

In these frontiers regions, we have to use that part of our Army which comes from the hill regions, who can more easily stand the altitude and the very rough terrain.

Nevertheless, I appreciate greatly your offer to help.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

199. To N.R. Pillai: On Forgotten Meetings of 1951⁴

The Senior Counsel's note should be seen and commented upon by the Defence Minister and the Law Minister.

In the letter which was on the point of being sent by Shri B.N. Lokur⁵ of the Law Ministry to our High Commissioner, attention was drawn to certain facts which were considered important. I think that some such letter redrafted should be sent immediately so that Counsel in England might consider these points. To delay sending it would mean some loss of time in considering these fresh matters. We may mention that a further letter would be sent soon in regard to the Senior Counsel's note.

3. Letter to the Nawab of Bhopal.

4. Note, 2 December 1959.

5. Joint Secretary.

Sir Frank Soskice⁶ says that he would like to have some notes of conversations when Sir James Marshal-Cornwall⁷ visited India in 1951. It is said that he had talks with me and with the Ministers of Finance and Defence. I remember his calling on me some time or other, though I have not the slightest recollection of the date, nor have I the slightest recollection of what he said to me and what I said in reply. It was a brief meeting and was more or less a courtesy call.

As for the Finance Minister and the Defence Minister at the time, I have no recollection of who they were on that particular date. This of course can be found out. Probably the Finance Minister was Dr. John Matthai, though I am not sure. The Defence Minister might have been Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar. Both of them are dead.

I do not know if there are any notes by them on their conversations in the old files. I rather doubt it, but this might be verified.

200. To Paul Zimmermann: Schiller's Book⁸

December 2, 1959

Dear Herr Zimmermann,

Our Embassy in Bonn has sent me your letter of the 10th November. They have also forwarded the small but valuable book which you have been good enough to send me as a present. I am deeply grateful to you for your letter and good wishes and for this book by Friedrich Schiller.

I remember with pleasure our previous meetings. My brother-in-law, Ranjit S. Pandit, also used to speak to me about you.

I send you and your wife all my good wishes and thanks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Labour MP.

7. See SWJN/SS/17/pp. 498-499 and 579-584.

8. Letter. Copied to Indian Embassy in Bonn.

201. To Tenzing Norgay: Pem Pem's Wedding⁹

December 3, 1959

My dear Tenzing,

I am happy to learn from your letter that you have arranged Pem Pem's wedding. My congratulations to you and my love and good wishes to Pem Pem.

I quite agree with you that in these days we should not have lavish weddings.

Please convey my blessings to the bride and bridegroom.

Yours sincerely

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

202. To Morarji Desai: Krishna Hutheesing¹⁰

December 8, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Today I received another letter from my sister, Krishna. This is dated the 2nd December, but it only came to me today. This is becoming quite a headache. I do not know what has happened. But I cannot understand why any person should be harassed by the doctors and especially by the Surgeon-General in the way Krishna has mentioned.

As I told you, I shall try to get some money from my publisher's royalty account and give it to Krishna if she needs it. I do not quite know how much I might be able to get for her. It may be one hundred pounds, or it may even go up to two hundred pounds. The Finance Ministry might note this. I shall of course, let them know the exact sum that is paid to her.

I enclose Krishna's letter.

Yours sincerely,

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

9. Letter to the Director of Field Training, Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling.

10. Letter.

203. To Herbert Butterfield: Smuts Memorial Lecture¹¹

December 8, 1959

Dear Vice-Chancellor,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th December 1959.

I am grateful to the University for the honour they have done me in inviting me to be the first Smuts Memorial Lecturer. I have given some thought to this matter as I would to any proposal coming from my old University. But I am afraid it will not be possible for me to accept this invitation. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting has not been fixed and I have yet no idea when it might take place. Perhaps it may be held in May. But my real difficulty is that I am over-burdened with work and I see no possibility in the foreseeable future of having any leisure to think and write anything worthwhile for a special occasion like this. It would not be right for me to undertake this responsibility unless I could give enough time to it and have something special to say. The subject is an interesting one, but I doubt if I am competent to deal with it without much study.

At present I am carrying rather a heavy burden and this is likely to continue almost indefinitely, so long at least as I am in charge of my present office. I try to find a little time for the many things I would like to do, and do not succeed. Books of interest which I want to read pile up unread. This is not a life I would recommend to anybody, but I am a prisoner to its routines and responsibilities and cannot find a way out.

I hope you will appreciate my difficulty and excuse me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

11. Letter to the Vice Chancellor, University of Cambridge.

204. To Martin Luther King: Good Wishes to Phillip Randolph¹²

December 11, 1959

Dear Mr. King,

I have today received your letter of December 7th,¹³ in which you inform me of the celebration of Mr. A. Philip Randolph's¹⁴ seventieth birthday anniversary. I have not had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Randolph, and it is a little difficult to send impersonal messages about people whom one has not met. But from what you tell me, Mr. Randolph's record of work in the field of social action has been outstanding. I gladly send my good wishes to him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Less than a month ago, I reached this age, and I feel a certain sympathy with those of a like age. I hope you will convey my good wishes to him.

It is a pleasure to hear from you. I wish that when you were here, I could have seen more of you. Even our brief meeting left a great impression on my mind, and I want to tell you that we admire the work you have done and are doing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

205. To Arthur S. Lall: Help for Hysterical Viennese Woman¹⁵

December 11, 1959

My dear Arthur,

I enclose an odd letter from a Viennese girl. I have never met her. She sent me a number of letters some two or three years ago. Oddly enough, one or two of them in Hindi (though not good Hindi). Apparently, she had taken the trouble to learn Hindi. She seemed to me a rather hysterical person. I had given up replying to her. She had also sent me once a 'rakhi'.

12. Letter. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

13. See Appendix 6.

14. A. Philip Randolph (1889-1979): American Labour leader; President, Negro-American Labour Council, 1960; Organiser and Director, Washington Freedom March, 1963.

15. Letter to the Indian Ambassador in Vienna.

She now wants financial help. Obviously I cannot do much in this way. But, as she is apparently in great difficulties and is ill, I do not want her appeal to go unheeded by me. Could you, therefore, please enquire about her and help her in reason. That, of course, will be an entirely personal matter, and I shall send you the money you give her.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

206. To Kesho Ram: Compensation for Shrimati Devi Chand¹⁶

I have been anxious to help Shrimati Devi Chand. The circumstances of her husband's death were tragic and were partly connected with me. I have repeatedly written to the Health Ministry on this subject. Whatever they have done is, in the circumstances, inadequate for her to settle down.

2. I understand that some private arrangements have been made for the education of her children. That will help to some extent.

3. I think that a lump sum should be given to her to straighten her affairs. I suggest, therefore, that you might send Rs.5,000/- from the Discretionary Fund. This, I hope, will finalise the matter.

207. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Ajmal Khan Celebrations¹⁷

December 13, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

Your letter of the 12th December about the celebration of the death anniversary of Hakim Ajmal Khan¹⁸. With this letter you have sent a long list of 163 persons who presumably are being invited from Pakistan to attend this anniversary. This is a large number to process within a short time. Possibly all those who are invited may not be able to come. We shall try to facilitate the grant of visas to

16. Note, 12 December 1959.

17. Letter.

18. Hakim Ajmal Khan was a leading Unani physician and President of the Indian National Congress in 1921. See SWJN/FS/1/p.261.

the persons who are coming. It may be, however, that in the case of a few, difficulties arise.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

208. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: News in General¹⁹

December 14, 1959

[Nan dear,]

I have just received your letter of December 9th. Also, the lovely candle that you have sent. Thank you for it.

I received the letter from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge some days ago and have already sent him a reply, thanking him for it but regretting my inability to accept the invitation to deliver the Smuts Lecture.²⁰

It is very difficult for me to accept such engagements. Any such lecture would require a good deal of preparation, and the subject is not after my heart.

The Commonwealth Conference is being fixed to begin on the 3rd of May. I shall go there, of course. But I cannot add many days to my visit. It is getting more and more difficult to leave India for any length of time.

Tara is here with the children. Eisenhower left Delhi early this morning after some experiences which he will never forget. The people of Delhi came out in their lakhs wherever he went. The last function was a civic reception in the Ramlila Grounds. About five hundred thousand persons were present. There would have been more, but there was no room for the. In addition, there were large numbers lining the streets. The American newspapermen have been quite bowled over by this welcome.

[Love,
Jawahar]

19. Letter.

20. See item 203.

209. To Sean T.O'Kelly: Thank You for Good Wishes²¹

December 17, 1959

My dear Mr. O'Kelly,

It has been a great pleasure to receive your letter of December 9 and I thank you for it. I am grateful to you for your good wishes and blessings.

We are passing through difficult times in India, but we are stout of heart and I hope we shall get over all over present troubles.

I hope you and Mrs. O'Kelly are keeping good health.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

210. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Death of Pattabhi Sitaramayya²²

I have been deeply grieved at the news of the death of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.²³ Thus another of the old guard of the Congress has passed away and the Congress and the country are the poorer for it. To me this has come as a shock for we have been friends and comrades for long years. Apart from the Congress, we were closely connected in the States Peoples Movement. For nearly three years we lived in close and confined companionship of Ahmednagar Fort. Please convey my deepest sorrow to his family.

21. Letter to former President of the Republic of Ireland.

22. Telegram, 17 December 1959. File No. 9/10/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection

23. Former President of the Indian National Congress, died on 17 December 1959. See *The Hindu*, 18 December 1959.

211. To Johs Hygen: Views on Religion²⁴

December 18, 1959

Dear Mr. Hygen,

I have your letter of December 12.²⁵

It is rather difficult for me in a brief letter to discuss the question of religion, more especially my own attitude to it.

I am not attracted to the dogmas and conventions of religion, but I have certainly been attracted to the spiritual values in life and to the basis of Indian philosophy. I have no doubt that the great religions of the world contain vital truths. But unfortunately these vital truths are often forgotten and some superstructure is emphasized.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

212. To Rita Dar: Family News²⁶

December 20, 1959

[My dear Ritu,]

I have not written to you in answer to your letter which came some weeks ago. I was very happy to receive your letter. You write so seldom.

Lekha was here for some days and her presence and companionship made our burdens lighter. Now Tara is here with her children and the house is full of children's laughter and the pattering of their feet.

We have had here, as you must know, President Eisenhower and we spent a few hectic days. Delhi gave him a tremendous welcome which no doubt moved him greatly. Now we have the Prime Minister of Sweden with his wife. He has been Prime Minister over thirteen years. His wife throughout this period has been a school mistress and is still continuing that work. You might pass this on to your friend, the former Egyptian Ambassador, who has rabid views on women.

24. Letter to the Dean of Oslo. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection

25. Being deeply interested in Indian philosophy and religion, Johs Hygen wanted to clear with Nehru the impression, gathered from Norwegian newspapers, of his being "indifferent in religious matters."

26. Letter.

I am writing to you briefly because I am terribly occupied nowadays with Parliament and the China situation, but you are very often in my mind and I send you all my love.

[Your loving,
Mamu]

213. To Norman Cousins: Busy Schedule²⁷

December 22, 1959

My dear Cousins,

I have just received your letter of the 16th December. I am afraid it is very difficult for me to find time to read or write anything outside my present normal scope of activities. I have never been quite so overwhelmed with work and responsibility as now. It is not merely a question of finding time, but also of developing the mood. To write anything about the last ten or twelve years will be a peculiarly difficult task.

So, you must excuse me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

214. To Indira Gandhi: Medical Problems²⁸

December 23, 1959

Santiniketan

This is to confirm my talk with you on the telephone, which I have communicated to Padmaja. You will go to Calcutta on the 26th morning by the Viscount Service, leaving Delhi at 0700 hrs and reaching Calcutta at 1010 hrs. There is apparently a daily service in the morning both from New Delhi to Calcutta and from Calcutta to Delhi. If you like, you can return on the 27th morning or any other time convenient.

27. Letter to the Editor, *Saturday Review*, New York.

28. Letter.

You will of course take all your medical reports and charts, photographs, etc. with you.

I have been trying to get Dr. Roy on the telephone, but have so far not succeeded. Probably I shall manage to get him either tonight or tomorrow morning and tell him of this.

Padmaja has told me that there are three or four good surgeons in Calcutta. Ajit Basu is supposed to be the best and rather brilliant. But Bidhan Roy wanted to know in some detail the nature of your trouble before finally deciding on the surgeon. As soon as they have examined you and seen your papers in Calcutta, they can fix up the surgeon.

215. To the Lok Sahayak Sena²⁹

More than ever, we require disciplined men and women. Our defence forces are excellent, but we require other people to guard and serve on the home front. The Lok Sahayak Sena³⁰ should perform this task whenever need arises. I send my good wishes to the members of the Lok Sahayak Sena.

216. To Braham Dutt Mayor: Soldiers' Welfare Fund³¹

December 28, 1959

Dear Shri Mayor,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th December and your cheque for rupees one thousand one hundred. You say that it is meant for the Indian military. I am, therefore, sending it on to the Defence Department, to be credited to the fund for amenities for our soldiers.

Please convey my thanks to the citizens of Saharanpur.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

29. Message, 25 December 1959.

30. Formerly known as Auxiliary Territorial Army and later the National Voluntary Force in 1954, the Lok Sahayak Sena provided elementary military training to the people in border areas. However, membership excluded former NCC cadets and ex servicemen.

31. Letter to the Proprietor of Mayor Machinery Mart (Saharanpur).

217. To Bishan Chander Seth: Correcting Misunderstandings³²

दिसम्बर 31, 1959

प्रिय बिशन चन्द्रजी,

आपका 28 दिसम्बर का पत्र मुझे मिला और मैंने उसको पूरी तरह से पढ़ा। मैं आधी रात को उसका कुछ जवाब दे देता हूँ क्योंकि मैं दिल्ली के बाहर जा रहा हूँ और कुछ अरसा तक बाहर रहूँगा।

आपने जो कुछ लिखा है उसमें अक्सर वाक्यात सही नहीं हैं, और अक्सर और भी गलतफहमियाँ हैं। इस बहस में तो मैं एक पत्र में नहीं जा सकता। यह हो सकता है कि आपके विचार और मेरे विचार में काफी अन्तर हो। लेकिन यह आपका गलत ख्याल है कि सरहद के मामले में कोई हमारी तरफ से कमज़ोरी हुई है या होने वाली है।

कुछ आपने भी कृष्ण मेनन के बारे में लिखा है। उसमें भी बहुत गलतफहमी है। वह जाँच करने कानपुर गए थे और कुछ घंटे रहकर वापस आए थे।³³ अक्सर उन्हें जाँच करने के लिए अलग-अलग जगह जाना पड़ रहा है क्योंकि नए काम शुरू किये हैं। क्योंकि उनको दिन में बहुत काम करना होता है, वह कभी-कभी रात को सफर करते हैं और जो कोई सीनियर अफसर हो वहाँ, उसके कुछ घंटे ठहर जाते हैं।

आपका

[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

December 31, 1959

Dear Bishan Chanderji,

Received your letter of 28 December which I have read properly. I am replying to it in the middle of the night as I am leaving Delhi for a few days and will be away for a while.

In your letter, the incidents cited are incorrect and there are many misunderstandings. I cannot discuss all of it in one letter. Our views may differ, but you err in assuming that we have shown weakness in addressing the border issue or will do so in future.

32. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Hindu Mahasabha.

33. Krishna Menon visited Kanpur on 25 December 1959 to inspect the Air Force Base Repair Depot. See *The Times of India*, 26 December 1959.

You also wrote something about Krishna Menon. In that too, there are misunderstandings. He visited Kanpur to investigate matters and returned after a few hours.³⁴ He often makes such visits to different places as and when new work is started. As he is busy at work during the day, he sometimes travels by night and puts up with a senior official.

Yours,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends.]

34. See fn 33 in this section.

VI. APPENDICES

1. Government of China to G. Parthasarathy¹

[Refer to item 2]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China, and, with reference to the note delivered on November 24, 1959 to the Chinese Embassy in India by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, has the honour to reply as follows:

In its memorandum of October 22, its note of October 24 and its statement of October 26, the Chinese Government gave detailed and incontestable correct accounts of the border incident which occurred at the Kongka Pass on October 20 and 21, 1959. The facts admitted by the captured Indian military personnel are in agreement with the accounts given by the Chinese Government. On November 14, the Chinese Government handed over to the Indian Embassy in China a written material setting out the facts admitted by the captured Indian military personnel and drew the attention of the Indian Government to it. It is proved by the material that the report of the Second-in-Command of the Indian police patrol party attached to the Indian Government's note of November 4 is completely inconsistent with the facts.

Out of traditional Sino-Indian friendship and humanitarian considerations, the Chinese Government on the third day after the Kongka Pass incident already took the initiative in notifying the Indian Government that it was prepared to let the Indian side take back the captured Indian military personnel and the bodies of the Indian soldiers. The Chinese Government is gratified that they were handed over to the Indian side smoothly on November 14. However, the Chinese Government cannot but be surprised that, at a time when the Kongka Pass incident is drawing to a close and the two governments are actively exploring avenues to eliminate border clashes, the Indian Government should create a side issue by levelling a groundless charge and even lodging a protest against the Chinese Government on the pretext of so-called "deplorable treatment" of the captured Indian personnel. The Chinese Government categorically rejects this protest of the Indian Government.

Throughout the period of their custody, the Indian military personnel were given friendly and generous treatment by the Chinese frontier guards. The Kongka Pass area was difficult of access and hard to get supplies, yet the Chinese

1. Memorandum given by Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, 28 November 1959, Peking. From *White Paper No. III*, pp. 6-7.

frontier guards did their utmost to look after them in various ways. A few of the captured Indian personnel got frost-bitten. That was because their own outfits were very thin. As soon as the Chinese frontier guards obtained supplies, they issued to them cotton-padded suits, felt boots, beddings and articles of daily use, and gave them necessary medical treatment. In respect of board and lodging, they were treated in no way inferior to the Chinese frontier guards themselves. They were quartered, in warm underground rooms or in complete new tents. The assertion that they were kept in torn tents is a pure fabrication. The Indian Government's statement in its note that Abdul Majid had a bullet wound in his back and went without medical attention for four days is also inconsistent with the facts. Majid never indicated that he was wounded or ill. As a matter of fact, his movements showed that he was whole and sound. The captured Indian military personnel all expressed more than once during the period of their custody that they were well treated. When they were handed over to the Indian side to be taken back, they all expressed warm thanks.

It is normal that the Chinese frontier guards conducted necessary interrogation of the captured Indian personnel to make clear the facts about the armed Indian personnel's trespass and provocation, as this was their duty. The captured Indian personnel were finally interrogated once again; this was only because there were important discrepancies between the report attached to the Indian Government's note of November 4 received by the Chinese Government and the facts as told by the captured personnel, and it was necessary to check it up with them. It is also merely for this reason that their handing back was postponed several days. The interrogations of them by the Chinese frontier guards were always made in a free and unrestrained atmosphere; so-called pressure or threats was completely out of the question. The Indian Government's allegation in its note that the Chinese frontier guards subjected the captured personnel to threats and pressure in the interrogations and gave them harsh treatment is an utterly unwarranted charge.

The Indian Government in its note expressed the hope of receiving any information which the Chinese side might have about an Indian military personnel who was unaccounted for. On November 13 when the representatives of the frontier guards of the two sides discussed on the border at the Kongka Pass the concrete steps of handing over the captured Indian military personnel and the bodies, the Indian representative also made the request that the Chinese frontier guards search for the body of that Indian military personnel for the Indian side. The Chinese representative agreed then to make a further search. The Chinese frontier guards made an active search at and about the spot of the incident but still found nothing. It could be affirmed that this Indian military personnel was not on Chinese territory. The following day, the Chinese

representative informed the Indian representative of the result of the search, and expressed the hope that the Indian side might search on its own territory. The Indian representative agreed to this.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

2 (a). Han Suyin to the Editor, *The Times*

[Refer to item 170]

November 30, 1959

Sino-Indian Frontier

Sir,—I was recently (October-November, 1959) for six weeks in China and for two weeks in India, and had occasion to become acquainted with the maps of both sides. One fact struck me in that excellent book, *The Discovery of India*, by Jawaharlal Nehru, 1951 editions, both Indian and British, the map of India printed in the book follows the frontier lines as shown in the Chinese maps. The McMahon Line does not exist on that map, the boundary follows the southern border of Bhutan, and not the northern border as in more recent maps published in India. Would this, perhaps, be one of the reasons why Mr. Christian Herter, in a recent interview, was so impartial in trying to judge the “legalities” of the Sino-Indian frontier?

I hope you will do me the courtesy to print this letter. It seems difficult, nowadays, to get a word in anywhere which might be construed as arguing that the Chinese, whatever their faults, may not be entirely wrong.

Yours sincerely,
Han Suyin

2 (b). Francis Watson to Han Suyin, *The Times*

[Refer to item 170]

December 12, 1959

Sino-Indian Frontier

Sir,—Dr. Han Suyin, in her letter on December 7 supports the Chinese case on the Sino-Indian frontier by reference to the map of India printed in a 1951 illustrated edition of Jawaharlal Nehru's *the Discovery of India* (first published in 1946).

It is really not helpful, however, to seek for evidence in roughly drawn, large-scale maps inserted as illustrations, possibly even without reference to the author, in a book of this kind. If it were, one would have to go further and notice that the endpapers of this edition contain two maps showing languages and population. In both these maps the border clearly follows the McMahon Line.

Yours sincerely,
Francis Watson

2 (c). Han Suyin to the Editor, *The Times*

[Refer to item 170]

December 16, 1959

Sino-Indian Frontier

Sir,—I thank Mr. Francis Watson for pointing out in his letter on December 12 how inconsistent, even in such an authoritative book as Nehru's *Discovery of India*, the maps appear to be.

What is not inconsistent is the fact that the McMahon Line was never recognised by any Chinese Government. Nor is it inconsistent to point out that the Indian Congress Party of those days (the early 1900s) thundered against "these acquisitions (of foreign territory) by the British...which will place a great burden upon the future...when India becomes independent."

I distinctly remember reading this quotation from the old minutes of the Indian Congress Party in a publication, a monthly journal devoted to Indian economics, issued by the Congress Party of India itself. This journal I picked up by chance in the House of the British High Commissioner in Delhi.

Unfortunately I cannot reach it at the moment, but both the publication, and checking these quotations against the historic documents which ought to be available, might prove rewarding to legal experts.

A frontier dispute calls for arbitration and negotiation. The way the case has been prejudged in some newspapers leaves one wondering whether emotional factors have not, in this instance, diminished the sense of fair play and justice which is England's gift to the world.

Yours sincerely,
Han Suyin

2(d). AICC Resolution on Invasion of Tibet²*[Refer to item 170]*

Resolved that this Congress expresses its profound regret that in the case of the recent Tibetan Expedition the object of the Act of 1858, in providing that India's revenue shall not be spent outside the Statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression, without the previous sanction of Parliament, was frustrated in practice by the Government continuing to describe the Expedition as "Political Mission", till it was no longer possible for Parliament to withhold its sanction to the required expenditure, and the Indian revenues were thus unjustifiably deprived of the protection constitutionally secured to them. This Congress further places on record its regret that the House of Commons refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of that Expedition, when it was in furtherance of Imperial interest and to carry out an Imperial policy that the Expedition had been undertaken. The Congress protests strongly against the injustice and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan Expedition was but part of a general forward policy, which, with the Mission to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country.

Resolved that this Congress places on record its deep regret that the Report of the Police Commission has still been withheld by the Government from the public, though it is now two years since the Commission reported, and though portions of it have found their way into the columns of papers beyond the reach of the Official Secrets Act.

In view of the great urgency of a thorough reform of the Police force of the country, in view further of the large public interests involved in a satisfactory solution of the question and the obvious necessity in consequence of giving the public ample opportunity to express its view before the authorities proceed to formulate a scheme of reform, in view, finally, of the fact all public criticism expressed after the subject has been considered by both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India is bound to be virtually ineffective, this Congress earnestly urges the publication of the Commission's Report without any further delay.

2. A. Moin Zaidi and Shaheda Zaidi (ed) *The Encyclopedia of the Indian National Congress, Vol. IV, 1901-1905* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1978) pp. 635-636.

3. Rajendra Prasad to Nehru³

[Refer to item 88]

December 5, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I wrote to you on the 23rd September 1959 a pretty long Top Secret letter making certain suggestions regarding the long border we have in the north-east frontier. Now that Tibet has practically ceased to exist for our purpose, we are face to face with a long Chinese border amongst the various projects which may be considered necessary. You will have to consider what agency—military or civil or both—will be employed on the work in view of its extent and urgency.

You will recollect that at the Governors' Conference the Chief of Staff told us that the forces were just enough to meet the other requirements as they existed before the border with China became a live issue, and it was not easy to deploy forces to the NEFA Frontier from the reserves. This indicates a change in the deployment of our forces, largely from the Pakistan border to the Chinese border, or a large addition to our existing forces if the problem with Pakistan also continues to remain unsolved. I do not know if it is possible to release the necessary forces from Pakistan border even if some settlement is made. Thus, in any case, a large addition has to be made to our forces. This has also to be done in a planned way, keeping appropriate balance between land and air forces.

To achieve both these objectives, provision will have to be made from year to year in our Budget of expenditure in accordance with the requirements of an overall plan, including construction, additional personnel, and equipment.

I am troubling you with this at this moment because I think both the Budgets for the next financial year and the Third Five Year Plan are on the anvil now. The Government will have to think out how to finance this along with the other items of the Plan. It is however not only a question of finding the finance, but also of executing and implementing any decisions which may be taken in this regard. It has therefore necessarily to be a well phased long-term programme. We are now forcibly awakened to the fact of the existence of a long border which has to be protected as best we can, and what is more, we have to prepare for the recovery of the thousands of square miles already encroached upon in case all negotiations fail, unless we are prepared to write it off. We shall continue to hope that there will be a peaceful settlement and we shall do our utmost to get that effect, but we cannot rest only on that hope and that effort of ours, and

3. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed) *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. XIX (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Ltd, 1993), pp. 169-171.

as any effective steps to be taken will require very long preparation, the sooner such preparations are begun, the better.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

4. Damodar Valley Corporation Staff Association to Nehru⁴

[Refer to items 93 to 95]

This association feels proud of the opportunity afforded to it for personally presenting, on behalf of its members, their memorandum to our Prime Minister who has, as it is well known, a very soft corner for this first and foremost River Valley Project of India. The workers of the DVC had had the favour of getting the Prime Minister amidst themselves more than once, and are honoured to feel at heart some sort of kinship with the exalted personage. This indulgence from the unrivalled and undaunted steering force of the nation has emboldened the Association to place before him the problem facing its members with the earnest hope that the Prime Minister would in his inimitable manner somehow intervene in the matter to solve it in favour of the toiling workers of the Corporation.

On this happy and auspicious day of the inauguration of the Panchet Dam it would have been better and perhaps proper if we could avoid vitiating the atmosphere with our sad story. But we could find no other alternative ad we hope that in consideration of our helplessness the Prime Minister will surely ignore this discordant note.

The Prime Minister is no doubt aware of the fact that this inauguration while making the successful forging of another link in the programme of DVC spells a simultaneous retrenchment for thousands of workers of the Corporation. This admittedly is no new problem. Actually this awful shadow of retrenchment has for the last ten years been making each hour of every workers's life a dire misery, bleak and grim. He has almost forgotten to take in a full breath and to live in a natural way. This Association has made repeated attempts to work out a permanent remedy to the nightmare of the workers. This has led the Association to ponder deeply over the subjective and objective side of the problem even through severe self analysis. Now we have arrived at the conclusion, nay firm conviction, that the solution of the workers' problem lies in the total

4. Copy of Memorandum, 6 December 1959.

implementation of the original DVC Programme as it was formulated by Mr. W.L. Voorduin.

There is no two opinions whether the analysis and criticism of a programme can come under the purview of Trade Unionism. But in our country this aspect is still almost absent from Trade Union Movements. Our Prime Minister has time without number reassured that he does not want a band of galley slaves to implement multipurpose projects, but that he would like to have equal partnership with the workers whose cooperation will enrich the Projects as also the nation. Hence today when our future and fate are directly and inseparably connected with those of the DVC Programme, its scrutiny by us become absolutely inescapable. In this perspective the Prime Minister will, we hope, overlook our incompetence, if there be any.

Since 1956 this Association has been pointing out the inadequacy of the first phase dams of the Corporation in controlling to the fullest extent the floods of the river Damodar. This was not because we wanted to harass the authorities or to belittle the achievements of the Corporation, but we wanted to focus attention on one vital point which was clear as crystal to us and which the authorities would, we were sure, discern too late if we kept silent over it. We here allude to the implementation of the second phase of the Programme. Our argument was as such to the effect that as soon as the work at one station was completed, the workers at that station should be diverted to another station. This could and can still be achieved by phasing out the Programme in a well thought out chain of arrangements. As everyone will admit, our country suffers from a shortage of skilled workers and it requires time and money to rear up a band of disciplined and skilled workers. Thus merely through proper phasing the nation is exempted from unnecessary wastage of time and resultant incurring of additional expenditure, and the workers would have their worries set at rest.

Our misgivings about the flood controlling capacity of the DVC as it is now, have most unfortunately for the nation been amply justified only too recently. The authorities have now admitted the essentiality of constructing one or more dams as suggested in the original programme. When this decision was arrived at after the devastating floods of October last, we once again requested the three participating governments and the authorities of the Corporation as well not to disband the well-knit band of workers which has built the foundation of the DVC until such time as the new phase programme has been finalised.

We have submitted memorandum to Hon'ble Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister in charge of Labour, Planning and Employment, Government of India, Hon'ble Sri Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Minister in charge of Irrigation and Power, Govt. of India, Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister, Government of West Bengal

and Hon'ble Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister, Government of Bihar.

We were fortunate to have opportunities for holding discussions with some of them. As a result of all the negotiations the authorities informed us in November last that the handing over of the DVC Canals to the control of the West Bengal Government had been deferred to a later date, and that the retrenchment notices served on the employees of that department had been withdrawn.

Naturally we were happy and we assumed that the authorities have at long last realised the logic of our arguments. But how reality came swift to disillusion us! We now find that it was an unplanned and isolated incident. Retrenchment of workers at Panchet was not halted; retrenchment notices served on Barrage and Irrigation Department workers terminating their services after 31st October, 1959, were kept in force.

This goes to show that the previous decision of the three governments against which we have been voicing our protests, stands in all its bleakness, and that the transfer of the headquarters from Calcutta and non-implementation of the 2nd Phase of the Plan Programme and the transfer of the DVC Canal System to the control of the Government of West Bengal, are settled facts, which are not to be unsettled come floods, come catastrophes:

The deputationists along with a large section of the Public believe that under the circumstances the Khungar Committee on Aiyer Dam has been purposely appointed only to shelve the scheme, and not to sanction it. A great deal of misleading and uninformed criticism has been heard against the construction of the Aiyer Dam. It has been said that with its construction the lower Damodar region will turn into a desert. But we have taken expert, technical advice on this subject, which says that, on the contrary, additional water in the Aiyer reservoir will augment the flow of water in the lower Damodar.

Besides, it is our firm conviction, which we can back by citing facts and figures, that without another additional dam at least, which should preferably, be at Aiyer, the main objective of the DVC, viz., the control of floods in the Damodar will be sadly defeated. The DVC authorities themselves admitted that the present four dams cannot guarantee flood-control. To do that fully in the Damodar and its tributaries all the eight dams figuring in Voorduin's preliminary memorandum are to be built. It was a wrong sense of economy, the result of which is bound to prove disastrous, that modified Voorduin's plan and slashed down the number of dams by half.

The present quarrel between the DVC and the West Bengal Govt. over adequate supply of irrigation water points to the insufficiency of the stored water in the four reservoirs. Over and above, there will be, in the very near future, large demands of water from the Durgapur Steel Plant, the Durgapur

Thermal Power Station and from other new industries that are growing in the 'Ruhr of India'. So, at least one more large dam is indispensable if the DVC is to honour its commitments already made. As for future commitments, not only one dam but the full implementation of the second phase programme so far as building of dams is concerned will be found to be essential.

The construction of Aiyer and other dams would have put off, for the time being, the problem of retrenchment but would not have, we all know, solved it permanently. It is a paradox without any known parallel in the history of any other country, that in the midst of a series of Five Year Plans for national reconstruction and national enrichment thousands of workers are to be thrown out of employment for completing the premier national project. To these workers it appears now that by completing this project they have, as it were dug their own graves. The sense of frustration and utter ruination will, we are afraid, undoubtedly affect the morale of all construction project workers in the country, be they in River Valley Projects or Steel Plants.

But the problem of retrenchment would solve itself in no time if the DVC could stick to its original programme of all round development of the Damodar Valley. In fact, whoever would care to look into the making of the DVC would admit that fundamental to it is the idea of integrated regional planning; it is an idea which India cannot afford to ignore since, in this country, it was to be tried out for the first time in the Damodar Valley, and the DVC is well equipped to discharge all the welfare functions implicit in integrated planning. But it is apparent that the authorities concerned have decided on an ill-considered retreat from the DVC's original functions. Industries which are now being developed in this region under private sector, should have been, according to the DVC Act, developed by the DVC itself.

Instead of developing these industries, the DVC, according to the latest decision of the participating governments' conference is now prepared to make a gift to one of its own limbs. We mean the Barrage and Irrigation Department of the DVC which is shortly going to be transferred to the West Bengal Government.

Other glaring instances of curbing the DVC's powers and limiting its sphere of activities will not be found wanting. The Spun Pipe Factory, the Cold Storage belonging to the DVC are also going to be transferred to the West Bengal Govt. The Central Workshop at Maithon, one of the best of its kind, could easily be developed into a full fledged factory for supply of castings for all River Valley Projects which are now either imported from abroad or supplied by contractor firms. Instead, it is being contemplated to reduce it to a minor workshop for supplying the DVC with only such parts that may be required for maintenance purpose. To crown all, the Govt. of India, after a period of eleven years, has

decided to exercise its powers conferred on it under clause 48 of the DVC Act. As a result of the DVC, on its own, cannot undertake any promotional activities as enumerated in clause 12 (d), (e) and (f) of the Act.

It has been stated that this transfer of Barrage and Irrigation Dept to the West Bengal Govt. has been decided upon with a view to ending the duality of control. We fail to understand, Sir, that so long as the reservoirs—the store houses of water—remain under the control of the DVC how mere transference of the Barrage and the Canal System to the West Bengal Govt. can end this duality. To quote one of the many authorities who hold identical views we may refer to Mr. Mathur, once the Chairman of the Central Technical Power Board, who said: It is “absolutely essential that the entire water control and power generation features should be constructed and operated under a single unified operation”. The Prime Minister himself has quite recently reiterated that the work of a River Valley Project did not end in constructing a few dams or digging some canals. It is their responsibility to train up our peasants in the economic and proper use of canal water as also in newer methods of agriculture. The planners of the DVC envisaged the same thing. It is a pity that its scope should now be confined to such constructions only which a PWD should be competent to do. The undesired effect of the policy adopted by the Government in respect of distribution of water is already being felt. The cultivators in the DVC area, being untrained in water-use the new system demands, fail to raise enough profit to compensate for the tax imposed on them. Naturally the resentment among them is great. The popular hostility thus defeats the purpose of the project not only here in the DVC but also in other parts of the country.

Naturally, the employees of the DVC apprehend that this decision of transfer of the Barrage and Canal System is just a prelude and will be followed shortly by other similar decisions of transfer of the dams and the reservoirs to some other government, thus completing the dismemberment of our Indian TVA.

The third decision of the Inter-State Conference, namely, the transfer of the headquarters of the DVC from Calcutta to Maithon and Panchet, is equally illogical, if not something worse. Reported to be taken on the grounds of economy this decision, ironically, will saddle the DVC with an additional capital expenditure of Rs. 1,50,00,000/- and an additional annual expenditure of Rs. 10 lakhs. The gains that are supposed to be made on office rents and allowances of the employees paid in Calcutta will be more than swallowed up by these huge figures of capital and recurring expenditure. Tendentious reports have been given side currency in this connection that employees' opposition to the transfer of the headquarters is due to their aversion to leave Calcutta. Nothing can be more untrue than this. Employees, with their meagre earnings, will no doubt be inconvenienced by this transfer. For, many of them having school or college

going children will be forced to maintain double establishments with an income not sufficient to even a single one. Others, living in joint families where their monthly contributions towards family expenses keep those families going, will not be able to stop their contributions while maintaining separate establishments at the new headquarters. Moreover, a considerable number of employees are either evacuees from Burma or refugees from East Pakistan. These people who have been rehabilitated in or around Calcutta will be displaced again. We want to impress it on the Prime Minister that the country has got enough refugees to be resettled. It is no good creating a few thousands more and adding to the problem. All these and other factors weigh heavily with the employees. But these are not their main arguments against the transfer. As for amenities of life, the DVC during the past eleven years has sadly failed to provide for the minimum facilities a modern social life demands. Our cry for bilingual schools at the work sites is still unheeded. More so, the authorities could not provide the Muster Roll and the work-charged employees with adequate quarters even.

Low grade employees as we are it may sound pretentious when we say that it is mainly in the interests of the DVC, the organization that we serve, that we oppose this transfer. The heavy financial burden that the DVC will have to shoulder due to this transfer will be entirely unproductive. We fail to see what administrative advantage will this transfer bring which so long the DVC have been lacking with its headquarters in Calcutta. On the other hand, the close touch which the DVC authorities can maintain now with the rest of India and the world, with the leading business and commercial circles—Indian and foreign, with the State Governments and the Central Govt. in Delhi will be lost. So, we say again that it will be administratively disadvantageous to transfer the headquarters to Maithon and Panchet. Again, it is to be noted that the headquarters will not be located at one place but will be spread over Maithon and Panchet—one over 11 miles away from the other. What advantage to the employees, the officers or to the work assigned to type DVC can come from such a transfer when then new headquarters will have offices scattered over an area of 20 square miles with no transport or communication facilities worth the name?

The original DVC plan in its entirety is so sound that it is beyond challenge. The original planner also warned that it would be pound foolishness if the thing was half done. At the wake of this year's flood public and expert opinion has also been eloquent and this Association going through the plan time without numbers also concur with them to assert the lower valley is doomed if the plan is not fully implemented. Then why this mutilation of the plan? Some unscientific force active behind the screen has become successful with some ulterior motive which may be political or economical but definitely not friendly to the interest

of the nation. The three participating governments do know its identity but are shy of fighting it. Our Prime Minister who is a relentless fighter against the forces of evil and who with his indomitable energy rather enjoys facing any crisis whatever be its dimension, so to him we turn in our peril and place our grievances before him. We have faith that our right cause will surely receive full justice from our revered Prime Minister.

S. R. Sen Gupta

General Secretary

On behalf of the DVC Staff Association

5. C.D. Deshmukh to Nehru⁵

[Refer to items 44 and 45]

December 7, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I had gone out on a tour to Lucknow and Gorakhpur to visit to Universities there when your letter No. 2494-PMH/59 of November 29, 1959 arrived. I returned on the 2nd December late in the afternoon and have since been busy disposing of piled up arrears of work—this explains the delay in my replying to your letter.

The speech you have in mind is one of my V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Memorial Lectures at the Madras University, delivered in July last, soon after my return from the Congress Planning, Committee's Seminar at Ooty. You may recall that there seemed to be a general approval there of the idea of establishing some sort of permanent tribunal for investigating allegations of administrative malpractices. I had this idea in mind when I made the observations in the course of my lectures, an extract copy from which is enclosed.

You will see that I expressed readiness to bring to the notice of any such Tribunal or Commission some cases that had been mentioned to me. Unless such a Commission or Tribunal is appointed, notifies its procedures and extends some kind of protection to complainants. Apart from giving proof of their capacity to pursue investigation energetically and being offenders to justice without sparing the influential, it will not be possible for anyone to lay information. I do not fear any consequences for myself, but I cannot jeopardize the security of the officers who happen to have mentioned things to me. Prime

5. Letter. File No. 81, C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

facie I believe them, but the course of stray official investigation could be erratic and might recoil on the well-meaning informing officers themselves.

In the circumstances I regret I cannot let you have such information as I have or pass on particulars that have come to my notice. Their nature is as follows:-

- (1) Misuse of cooperatives for political purposes;
- (2) Award of a contract to a favoured person at great loss to the State;
- (3) Attempt to interfere with the course of justice by personal influence of official superiors;
- (4) Issue of lucrative licences and grant of other privileges to ministers' sons;
- (5) Gross over-payment of salary to an important minister's son just passed out of a university (over Rs.4,000 p.m.) by two industrial enterprises;
- (6) Suspected soft punishment to important offenders against foreign exchange regulations;
- (7) Vindictive treatment of political opponents through the police by highly placed ministers;
- (8) Interference with the discipline of a Medical College by a minister (shielding of a boy in the hostel who was caught living with a girl)—in this case my complainant was a Vice-Chancellor;
- (9) Transfer by telegram of a Superintendent of a Medical Hospital and College because he had no room to admit the friend of the wife of a minister—transfer later cancelled on remonstrance by a Vice-Chancellor;
- (10) Shielding and indeed promotion of a notoriously depraved Principal of a College by a minister;
- (11) Two revolting cases of nepotism—I can name the persons and the departments before any Commission;
- (12) Creation of administrative tribunals in order to let down gently offenders against foreign exchange regulations;
- (13) Shielding by ministers of people smuggling out foodgrains;
- (14) Ministers' interference with academic matters, such as allowing students to take examinations even when they had failed to keep up prescribed attendance;
- (15) Tolerance of gross mismanagement in the past of some strategic controls by minister's favourites;
- (16) Very highly placed officials conspiring to perjure in a recent well-known series of investigations and one of them deliberately and on 'legal advice' destroying evidence in his possession; and
- (17) Deliberate political interference in land acquisition proceedings by

ministers, extending over years or made even after deposit of adjudged price by Educational Institutions.

I am afraid the above is somewhat higgledy-piggledy list, but I have put down such things as I could recall and in that order.

Yours sincerely,
[C.D. Deshmukh]

6. Martin Luther King to Nehru⁶

[Refer to item 204]

December 7, 1959

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

At rare intervals, as we all are aware—and as you have every reason to know—there emerges somewhere in the world a man of universal outlook of universal stature. The year 1959 marks the seventieth birthday anniversary of Mr. A. Philip Randolph, dean of American Negro leaders and a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations.

Mr. Randolph is an outstanding and persuasive liberal, who has achieved universal stature as an articulate, militant pioneer in the fields of labour and civil rights, as a man of practical wisdom, and as a great human being acutely conscious of his relationship to the peoples of the world. We venture, therefore, to write to you, desiring a reply, despite your many and heavy preoccupations.

The high esteem in which Mr. Randolph is held today by millions of Americans and peoples of other lands, notably Africa, will be given significant public expression at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on Sunday evening, January 4, 1960. The program will be representative of the nation's best minds and artistic talent and will, therefore, have unusual beauty and power—such national figures as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt taking great pleasure in participating.

It would add immeasurably to the historic importance of this tribute to Mr. Randolph if you would send a personal message which would be deeply gratifying to Mr. Randolph whose glowing inner strength has inspired three generations of Americans to enlightened social action, whose life has been animated by the same spirit of patriotism which led to the founding of the American nation, and whose passion for the establishment of the “good society” for all mankind has been unflagging throughout his life.

Assuredly, one can hardly ask more of one human being in one lifetime—and so it would seem altogether appropriate that we should ask you, the pre-eminent representative of the liberal forces of the world, to join us in honoring A. Philip Randolph on January twenty-fourth. Should you see fit to send a message, we should appreciate it deeply if you would send it as soon as possible, so that it may be bound in book form with the other messages that will be presented to Mr. Randolph on the evening of his tribute at Carnegie Hall.

As a personal note, may I add that I have been tremendously strengthened spiritually and in understanding by my wonderful trip through India, particularly by the time spent with you. It remains an unforgettable experience that will have continuing value for me in our common struggle.

Sincerely,
Martin Luther King

7. Homi J. Bhabha to Nehru⁷

[Refer to item 138]

Atomic Energy Commission
Cooperation between the Indian and United State's
Atomic Energy Commissions in the Peaceful Uses
Of Atomic Energy

The Chairman, accompanied by four other representatives of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, held discussions with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission regarding cooperation, and the former then made an extensive tour of nuclear reactors and laboratories of the latter in the United States during October and November last.

2. The setting up in India of nuclear power stations of proven types (a) pressurized water reactors (b) boiling water reactors (c) organic moderated reactors developed in the United States, of capacities of under 150,000 kilowatts down to 50,000 kilowatts or lower, was discussed. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission has come to the tentative conclusion that such reactors built in India would cost about 20% less than in the United States, due to lower costs of labour, concrete, steel, etc. Less than 50% of the cost of each plant would need

7. Note, 12 December 1959. File No. 17(278)/57-60-PMS.

to be purchased in the United States. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission is in general agreement with the conclusion of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission that the estimated cost of nuclear power in south, west, and north-west India would be approximately equal to the costs of power from coal fired stations.

3. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission suggested that initial consideration be given to a programme of a size totaling 150,000 kilowatts (150MWE). It was noted that the capital costs of a nuclear programme of this size would be approximately between \$18 and \$28 million more than a similar programme based on coal fired stations, and that due to the shortage of foreign exchange this incremental difference which would suffice to cover the cost of special nuclear equipment acquired in the United States would be financed by a long term loan of credit, in addition to any credits which might otherwise be made available to India by the United States for general economic development.

4. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission expressed its interest in the proposal to set up such power stations in India which would have the benefit from its own point of view (a) of trying out these reactors in tropical conditions and (b) in enabling American industry in the nuclear field to gain experience which would ultimately benefit it from the point of view of selling such reactors in other areas in south and south-east Asia.

5. It is understood that Mr McCone, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, has already reported these discussions to President Eisenhower. Mr. John S. Graham, Commissioner in the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, is at present in Delhi, having visited Trombay and has been greatly impressed by what is being done there, which he described as "an eye opener". Mr. Graham has, however, informed me that a determining factor in the further maturing of this proposal would be the attitude of the State Department. It is suggested that, if a suitable occasion arises, the Prime Minister might mention this subject in his talks with President Eisenhower who is keenly interested in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. (The original proposal for putting the "atom to work" for peaceful purposes was made by President Eisenhower in his address to the United Nations, and the First Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, over which I presided, was the outcome of this initiative.) The extra capital investment which would have to be financed by a long term U.S. loan, (18 to 28 million dollars up to the end of the Third Five Year Plan) is very small compared with the total aid which will probably be given and, moreover, the U.S. also stands to gain some benefits from this joint project. It should be added that the difference in capital costs is not as great as indicated above, if the burden of coal power on the transport system, mines, etc., is taken into account, but I do not wish to burden the Prime Minister with these details. I

could explain these matters further if the need arises and he wishes me to be in attendance.

The memorandum of our discussion forwarded by the Chairman of the U.S. Atomic is attached. P.M. need only read the portions marked in red.

8. GOI to the Government of China⁸

[Refer to items 1 and 161]

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India present their compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and have the honour to refer to the note of the 28th November presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Ambassador of India in Peking. The Government of India have now received full details from the released Indian police personnel as to the incident at Kongka Pass and the subsequent treatment to which the Indian personnel were subjected while in Chinese custody. These details confirm the account of the incident contained in the earlier notes. The statements of the released prisoners entirely contradict the assertion of the Chinese note that the Indian personnel were given friendly and generous treatment by the Chinese frontier guards. On the contrary the treatment which the Indian prisoners received was most harsh and inhuman and opposed to all canons of civilized behavior. A text of the statement made by Shri Karam Singh, who was the leader of the Indian police party, is attached to this note. This statement is corroborated in substance by other members of the Indian party.

2. It will be seen from Shri Karam Singh's statement that the Indian prisoners were denied adequate food and shelter. It also appears that Shri Karam Singh was subjected to interrogation on 12 days for a total period of nearly 70 hours. Under threats and prolonged interrogation, he was made to subscribe to certain statements which his captors wanted him to make. He was further made to repeat similar statements on subsequent occasions so that these statements could be tape-recorded. Attempts were made by the Chinese frontier guards to re-enact the incident at Kongka Pass with the forced participation of the Indian prisoners with a view to taking photographs which could be used presumably

8. Note by MEA, 13 December 1959. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 8-22.

as evidence in support of the Chinese version of the incident. Similarly, photographs of the prisoners arranged in various poses were taken presumably to show that the prisoners enjoyed certain facilities and amenities while in Chinese custody. The Government of India must state that no credence whatsoever can be given to any statement made by Shri Karam Singh or any other Indian prisoner in these circumstances. The certificates of good treatment which the prisoners might have given their captors at the time of release are equally valueless.

3. The Government of India are also surprised at the statement in the Chinese Government's note that Constable Abdul Majid was "whole and sound" and "never indicated that he was ill". In fact, Constable Abdul Majid received a bullet injury in the encounter and even now he has a splinter in his back. No medical attention was given to him for the first few days, and terrified at the treatment to which the arrested personnel were being subjected, he did not ask for medical care.

4. The note of the Chinese Government suggests that they are unaware of the whereabouts of Constable Makhan Lal, who still remain unaccounted for. It will be seen from the statement of Shri Karam Singh that Constable Makhan Lal had received an abdominal injury and was helped by him and Constable Rudra Man to walk a distance of nearly two miles. He was then left by the Chang Chenmo river in the custody of two Chinese soldiers as ordered by the Chinese escort. It is extraordinary that the Chinese authorities should now profess ignorance as to the whereabouts of Constable Makhan Lal. The Government of India would request that enquiry be made of the Chinese frontier guards once again as to the circumstances in which Constable Makhan Lal was left behind on the Chang Chenmo River on the 21st October and what happened to him subsequently.

5. The Government of India once again record their emphatic protest against the deplorable treatment to which the Indian personnel were subjected while in the custody of the Chinese soldiers. This treatment which the Indian personnel received was much worse than that to which even prisoners of war are entitled under the Geneva Convention of 12th August 1949. It is obvious that the reports which the Chinese Government have received from their frontier guards, both about the incident and about the subsequent treatment of the Indian personnel are entirely unrelated to facts. The Government of India would urge that adequate action be taken against the persons responsible for subjecting the helpless Indian prisoners to such inhuman treatment.

The Ministry of External Affairs take the opportunity of extending to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of their highest consideration.

'Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai'



The Chinese, according to Karam Singh, had taken photographs to establish that the Indian prisoners at the border were treated cordially.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 20 DECEMBER 1959

[In the Chinese Wringer]



FROM *SHANKAR'S WEEKLY*, 22 NOVEMBER 1959

Statement of Shri Karam Singh

I reached Hot Springs on the 19th October, 1959. On the 20th morning, two parties of two constables each and the third of two constables and a porter were sent out to reconnoiter the area. Two parties returned but the third one, consisting of Constables Khalil and Sonam Dorje and Porter Chettan failed to do so. The same evening search parties were sent out to look for them but they returned without any success.

2. Next morning (21st October 1959), I decided to go out and search for the men myself. Shri Tyagi also accompanied me. We left with a party of about 20 men, including a section and some personnel of the ITB Force. We left instructions for the main party to follow on foot.

3. After I had gone about five miles to the east of Hot Springs, I noticed hoof marks which appeared to be those of the Chinese horses. We followed these hoof prints for a few hundred yards. We also observed the area through binoculars but we noticed nothing of special interest. After the main party had joined us, we advanced further into the plain which was over-looked by a hill. The hoof prints appeared to be running along the right of this hill. I, therefore, decided that I would, with about 20 men, follow them to find out whether there were any Chinese intruders in the vicinity. I told Tyagi to wait with the main party until I returned and to keep a look out for any signs of the Chinese; if he saw any, he was to demand the return of our missing members and to ask them to leave Indian territory.

4. I, along with Jamadar Rulia Ram, Head Constable Man Singh, Head Constable Babu Wadkar and Constable Abdul Majid, Gur Bahadur, etc., followed the hoof prints which went along a track skirting the hill on our left. As we did not apprehend any danger, we were not marching in any order but were moving in twos and threes. I was not even carrying a weapon. When I had covered about six to seven hundred yards, and had almost passed the hill on the left, one of my constables noticed some movement in front along a nullah and shouted "Chini, Chini". I looked at all sides but before I could spot anything in front, I noticed on my left a Chinese soldier on the hill shouting something and waving his hands upwards as if he was asking us to raise our hands and surrender. I shouted back at the top of my voice that it was our area. Instead of receiving any answer, we were fired upon both from the front as well as from the hill top. We were taken by complete surprise and so all the members of the party made for such cover as was available and returned the fire. Some retreated towards the hill on the right. Jamadar Rulia Ram, Constables Abdul Majid, Ali Raza, Gur Bahadur, Beg Raj and Norbu Lama ran with me and we took shelter behind a mound. Some of the others ran towards the hill on the left but were struck down with bullets and hand-grenades. Our firing was ineffective as we had inadequate cover and the Chinese were in a favourable position. After some time I ordered those who were near me to discontinue firing as their firing was having no effect and the ammunition was being wasted.

5. The Chinese continued to fire on us almost incessantly. We could also hear firing on the other side of the hill. Constable Ali Raza made a bid to get away in the afternoon and although he was fired upon, was able to escape. The Chinese used LMGs, rifles, tommy guns and hand-grenades. At about 5 P.M., firing from the front increased in intensity and a few bren-gun bursts were fired at us from our right and Constables Beg Raj and Norbu Lama were killed. Realising the overwhelming superiority in numbers of the Chinese soldiers and their fire power, I thought that it was futile to resist any further and, therefore, decided to surrender. We raised a white handkerchief after which the Chinese stopped firing and asked us to drop our weapons and advance towards them with our hands raised. I, accompanied by Jamadar Rulia Ram, Constables Abdul Majid and Gur Bahadur surrendered to the Chinese. Later, Constables Shiv Dayal, Rudra Man and Tsering Norbu, who were apparently lying concealed elsewhere, also surrendered and we were all herded together.

6. When we were being searched etc., I looked around and I thought there were about 30 Chinese soldiers in position on the hill. The soldiers that were on the side of the nullah were no longer visible to me. After our search, we were sent to Kongka Pass with an escort of 11 Chinese soldiers.

7. From the place of the encounter, five of us were made to carry the dead

body of the Chinese soldier who had been killed. Constable Rudra Man and I were asked to help Constable Makhan Lal, who had been injured seriously in the abdomen. His condition was really very bad. We carried him for two miles, where the Chinese soldiers ordered us to leave him on the bank of the Chang Chenmo river. Two of the Chinese soldiers stayed back near Makhan Lal and nine escorted us to our destination. From this place, I and Constable Rudra Man were made to carry heavy loads. We were completely exhausted and were finding it extremely difficult to walk with this heavy load but we were repeatedly prodded by rifle butts to move on. We reached the Chinese Kongka La Post (above 16,000 ft.) at about 2 A.M. on the 22nd of October, 1959. We were all put together in a pit, 6 feet deep, 7 feet wide and 15 feet long, normally used for storing vegetables. It was covered with a tarpaulin which left several openings through which ice-cold breeze penetrated. We had to spend the night on the frozen ground without any covering. No water for drinking was provided nor were we permitted to ease ourselves during the night and the following day. The sentries adopted a menacing attitude.

8. On the morning of October 23rd, all of us were taken out of the pit for the first time and taken to a place about two miles towards Lanak La. We remained there the whole day and returned to the pit at night. We do not know why we were kept away from the camp that day. During the day, I was merely asked through an interpreter to write out the names of the captured persons but I expressed my inability to do so for want of spectacles. I told the Chinese officer to take down the names, which he did.

9. On the evening of 24th, I was again taken out in a truck to a distance of about one mile, where the dead bodies had been laid out and I was asked to identify them. As I could not identify all of them, I suggested that some Constables may be called to help me in identification. They brought me to the camp and asked me to select a couple of constables. We went back along with two constables—Shiv Dayal and Gur Bahadur—and identified the bodies. After this, we rejoined the others in the pit.

10. For the first 3/4 days, we were given only dry bread to eat. The intensity of the cold and our conditions of living were more than sufficient torture to demoralise us. By then I and 3 constables were suffering from frost bite and our repeated requests for medical attention and hot water were disregarded.

11. At about 4 A.M. on the 25th of October, 1959, I was called by two Chinese officers and taken for interrogation. I was removed to a tent about 50 yards away, where 5 Chinese officers, including an interpreter, interrogated me. One of them, at the very outset, threatened that I was a P.O.W. and that I could be shot dead any moment. He also warned me that they did not want any arguments or discussions. They asked me to write out my statement, to which I

pleaded my inability as I did not have my spectacles with me. At first, they asked me to narrate the entire incident. As soon as I came to the point that firing was opened by the Chinese, their senior officer present became wild and shouted back that it was incorrect, and that I must confess that the Indians fired first. I refused to accept this despite repeated and constant threats that I would be shot dead. Ultimately, they made me say that I could not judge at that time as to who fired first.

12. They asked me to admit that Indian soldiers seized Chinese horses, which were standing near the foot of the hill towards Chang Chenmo river. As I was on the other side of the hill, I told them that I had not seen anybody taking away the horses. Despite this, it was recorded that my men had disclosed to me that some Indian constables had taken away the Chinese horses.

13. Utmost pressure was used to extort from me that Tyagi and I knew beforehand that the place, where the incident took place, was within Chinese territory. I told them that I could not make that statement because that place was miles within Indian territory but they continued to assert that it was Chinese territory and was in Chinese occupation. In this connection, it was finally recorded that "I have now come to know that the area, where the encounter had taken place, is under Chinese occupation".

14. The Chinese wanted me to acknowledge that no member of the ITB force had ever visited that particular area. I told them that only in June this year, an ITB patrol had gone upto Kongka Pass and stayed there for a day or so. They wanted to know if I myself had ever visited Kongka La and when I said that I had not, after a considerable discussion, they recorded—"I and my men (who were prisoners with me), had never visited this area". I insisted that they should also write that I camped several times at Hot Springs and had toured the adjoining areas, but they did not agree to include this.

15. As regards the objective of our patrol, they wanted me to admit that we intruded into their territory to attack and capture the Chinese as well as to establish a checkpost. I stated that we had no such intention. In any case, it was our territory and the question of intrusion into the Chinese territory did not arise. On this assertion, they threatened me, but I stuck to the position that we were in Indian territory and were out looking out for the missing men. They then said that when fire was opened on us Tyagi and the main party were on the left of the hill and were advancing further in order to surround it. I told them that I could not see anything on the other side of the hill, and, therefore, there was hardly any point in obtaining a statement to this effect from me. As far as I remember, they finally recorded that though Tyagi did not tell me anything, it might be that it was his intention to send us from the right side and himself proceed on the left side in order to surround the hill and capture the Chinese.

16. The Chinese were emphatic that I should admit that they had gesticulated to us from the hill to go back. I told the senior Chinese officer, through the interpreter, that my party was advancing in small groups following the hoof marks and that the forward group with me had noticed some Chinese in front. Whereas it was quite correct that for a moment I noticed some gesticulations from a Chinese on the hill to my left, no time was given by the Chinese soldiers, to understand and to respond to the gesticulations. In fact, I had, at the top of my voice, shouted that it was our area. The answer to this was firing from in front and the hill to the left and rear. The Chinese officer lost his temper on this and said I was a cunning liar and threatened to take out his pistol and shoot me. I tried to argue that if their intention was to ask us to go back then they should also have allowed the patrol party to return and not have captured them. I told them that, in fact, the Chinese soldier was gesturing to us to raise up our hands and surrender and that is why I had shouted back that it was our area to which the reply was a hail of bullets. In the statement, however, the Chinese recorded that one of the Chinese soldiers on the hillock had waved his hand indicating that we should go back and not adopt a hostile attitude.

17. I was asked to admit that our action was against the spirit of 'Panch Sheel'. I told them that it was they who had opened fire on us; it was they who had violated the principles. Ultimately, they recorded that "the incident was against the spirit of 'Panch Sheel'."

18. When they asked me my rank, I told them that I was a Deputy Superintendent of Police and was the Second-in-Command of the ITB Force. Shri Tyagi was the Commander of the ITB Force. I had already decided to conceal the fact that I was the leader of the party to avoid interrogation about the police and Army dispositions and I had warned those captured with me to refer to me as the Deputy Commander. The total number of men in the party that had left Hot Springs in the morning was about 60 and this was recorded.

19. This interrogation lasted from 4 A.M. to about 4 p.m. with short breaks for meals, etc. By this time, I was almost frozen and mentally and physically exhausted because of cold, persistent interrogation intimidation, threats and angry shoutings, and lack of sleep. In this condition I was compelled to sign the statement recorded by the Chinese. At the end of this interrogation, the Chinese then brought all the other captured personnel before me and read out the statement, sentence by sentence. I was asked to translate each sentence in; Hindustani. All the captured personnel were asked to append their signatures on the back of the statement and several photographs were taken.

20. After this interrogation, I was separated and put in a tent where insufficient bedding was provided. The tent had a big opening at the top round the central pole to act as a chimney but as there was no fire in my tent, this hold

made the tent unbearably cold.

21. My interrogation was continued in my tent on the 26th from 0730 hours to 1700 hours. I was also told that my interrogation would continue the next day and until it was concluded, I would not be provided with a proper bedding.

22. On this day I was made to sign the following statement, as far as I can remember:-

“Tyagi returned after having a meeting with Mr. Sharma in New Delhi on the 22nd September, 1959. Tyagi informed me that a decision had been taken to establish checkposts at Tsogtsalu, Kayam (Hot Springs) and Shamul Lungpa. We left Leh for patrolling the border area and for establishing checkposts at these places. Tyagi left Leh on 27th September, 1959 while I started on the 29th September, 1959. Tyagi had about 40 men with him. Three constables accompanied me. I reached Phobrang on the 4th October. Tyagi arrived on the 5th of October, 1959. Tyagi started from Phobrang for Tsogtsalu on the 7th October. I left Phobrang on the 14th October and arrived at Tswogtsalu on the 16th October, 1959. A checkpost was established at Tsogtsalu and we left for Kayam. We established a checkpost at Kayam and we had to establish one at Shamul Lungpa. On 20th October, 1959, our two men missed. On the morning of 21st October, 1959, Tyagi took 60 men and reached the hill (battle field). When we were at a distance of about 400 yards from the hill, some Chinese were seen. Tyagi ordered me to take some men on the back side of the hill and to surround the Chinese and himself went in front. There were some 30 men with me and about the same number with Tyagi. We surrounded the hill. A Chinese was seen waving his hand so as to say “go away and do not adopt hostile attitude”. I have heard from my men that the Indian soldiers fired first. Some Indian soldiers took away the horses of the Chinese.”

23. I protested that as regards firing, none of my men had told me that Indians fired first but they rejected the plea and said that they had obtained confessions to that effect from other captured personnel. When requested to confront them with me, I was told that as I was a prisoner I had no such right. Similarly, I pointed out that the story of surrounding the hill etc. was also not correct but to no avail.

24. My interrogation started next day (27-10-59) at about 0800 hrs. and it lasted for about three hours. The entire period was devoted to ascertaining from me the details of the ITB organization.

25. My interrogation was resumed at 0800 hrs. on the 28th October, 1959 in my tent by three Chinese, two of them were officers and the third an interpreter. The interrogation lasted 5 hours and was confined to ascertaining the details of

the checkpoints.

26. Information was also obtained from me in regard to the strength of the checkpoints, arms and their functions and was duly noted down in their own language.

27. The same afternoon, all of us were taken to the Chang Chenmo river where the dead bodies had been laid out. We were asked to remove their uniform and wrap a muslin cloth in accordance with Indian custom. At our request hot water was supplied to give a bath to the dead bodies. A number of photographs were taken while we were busy in this operation

28. In the evening, they issued us the following items of clothing:-

- (i) Cotton-padded coat
- (ii) Cotton-padded pant
- (iii) Cotton-padded caps
- (iv) Namda Gum boots

I did not take these because items offered to me did not fit. Either on this day or the next a doctor examined my feet which had swollen up and administered an injection. Photographs were taken.

29. On the 29th morning at about 0900 hrs. the interpreter came to my tent and delivered some sweets as a gesture of goodwill. After sometime, a new face together with the previous officers and the interpreter came to me. This time, two stenographers had also been brought to take down my statement. This officer introduced himself as Commander of the Tibetan area. His questions were confined to details regarding or checkpoints and their strength. I repeated the details as given on the previous day. He also enquired about the strength of the army. The Chinese disclosed to me, for the first time that the Foreign Ministries of both the countries were in correspondence with each other about us (captured persons). The interrogation lasted for about 2 hours. I was not made to sign any statement.

30. At about 1300 hours on the same day (29-10-59), I was taken out of my tent together with Constable Shiv Dayal and escorted by three Chinese soldiers to the scene of the incident in a truck. The new officer, who had examined me in the morning, occupied the front seat of the truck and four other officers sat with us in the rear. After reaching the place, I was made to stand even though it caused me intense pain, near the base of the hill on the Hot Springs side and was ordered to point with my hand towards the hill and a photograph was taken, (as if I was pointing towards the Chinese who were on the top of the hill). I was then taken to the base of a small mound behind which we had taken shelter when fire was opened on us. Constable Shiv Dayal was asked to take a lying position about 50 paces away from me towards the hill. I was given a handkerchief and asked to wave it as if to give a signal to the men

to open fire. A snap was then taken together with the dead pony. Then, the senior officer drew a sketch of the hillock and the adjoining area showing positions of the Indian and the Chinese soldiers at the time of the encounter according to the Chinese version and got the same signed by me and Constable Shiv Dayal. Photographs were also taken of a few Chinese soldiers gesticulating from the hill. Late in the evening we returned to the camp.

31. My interrogation was resumed on October 30 morning at about 0800 hrs. and it lasted upto 1300 hrs. They questioned me again about the strength of each post. They also obtained my signature on a statement to the effect that the post at Hanley was established in June this year.

32. On November 1, interrogation started in the morning as usual. The senior officer had by then gone away. The other Chinese officers and the interpreter pursued the interrogation. I was asked how we could claim this area when we had never visited it. I told them that I had myself gone beyond Lingzi Thang with about 10 persons in 1957 and upto Shamul Lungpa in 1959 where we had established a checkpost which remained there throughout the summer and was withdrawn during the winter. They asked me if we had set up any boundary pillar at Shamul Lungpa or Lingzi Thang and I told them that we had not done so because our boundaries extended hundreds of miles further. The interrogation lasted for about 5/6 hours. The following statement was briefly recorded and signed by me:-

“In 1957, I visited Lingzi Thang with 10 men and stayed there for a few days. In 1958, I visited Shamul Lungpa, where we stayed for hour months. On this occasion; also there were about 10 men with me. We did not construct any huts at any place nor did we construct any boundary pillar at these places.”

The Chinese said that Phobrang was our last post, and that we had no right to cross Marsimik La because the entire area beyond the pass was a part of Sinkiang and that this could be verified even from the older residents of Ladakh. I told them that our claims were based on authentic documents and, therefore, our maps were correct. They disposed of my argument by saying that our claims were based on demarcation; by; the British, who had usurped a lot of territory of Sinkiang and Tibet. They ridiculed our maps and said that these could be drawn by anybody while sitting at home. It was on this day that I was repeatedly asked about my maps and documents. I told them that I did not bring any such papers with me because I was well conversant with the area. The Chinese showed great anger during this discussion.

33. On the morning of November 2 at about 10-00 hrs. all the captured persons were brought to my tent. The interpreter then asked them in my presence whether it was a fact that all the dead had received bullet injuries in front which

indicated that they were wounded while advancing towards the Chinese. To this, they replied in the affirmative. They said that they had wrapped up the bodies themselves and had actually seen the wounds. I was asked to attest their statement. I resisted, but was made to sign the following:-

“All of our men had received wounds in the front during the battle which indicated that they were wounded while advancing towards the Chinese

34. Afterwards those who had bathed the dead bodies disclosed to me at the first possible opportunity that in fact the injuries sustained by our men were on the front, back and sides and some had had parts of their heads blown off.

35. The same afternoon we all were taken out in the sun and made to sit in a semi-circle. Two watermelons were cut and distributed amongst us and a photograph was taken.

36. On November 3, the Chinese asked me to sign the following statement:-

“Chinese troops were armed with rifles, tommy-guns, LMGs and hand-grenades only. No heavy artillery or mortars were used by them during the battle.”

I appended my signature as automatic weapons and hand-grenades had been used against my party and I was not aware whether any mortar had been used.

37. There was no further interrogation. In the afternoon we were taken out in the sun and given a lecture on the Sino-Indian friendship. On this occasion, I was pointed out to a new person dressed as a Chinese soldier. This person replied in the negative after looking at me. Later, this man was heard conversing in Ladakhi and remained at the camp throughout our stay there.

38. On the morning of November 4, interrogation started at about 0800 hours. Only the interpreter examined me. He insisted that I should record in my own hand-writing the main points of the statement I had already signed. I pleaded I could not do so without my spectacles, but when he urged me again and again, I told him that as I was a prisoner they could force me to do anything, but it was not fair in view of their professed friendship for India. Ultimately, I scribbled down the following prepared statement which the interpreter had brought with him:-

“On 20-10-59, two of our men missed. Tyagi took about 60 men with him. I accompanied him. When we were at a distance of about 400 yards from the battle field a few Chinese were seen. Tyagi ordered me to take some men on the back of the hill. He himself proceeded to the front. We surrounded the hill. I have heard from my men that Indian soldiers fired first. Some horses of the Chinese were taken away by Indian soldiers. I have nothing but to thank the Chinese officers and soldiers for the kind treatment that they had given us. Medical facilities were provided to us

and we were neither beaten nor coerced.”

39. The same afternoon I was again interrogated by the Chinese officers and the interpreter. They brought a statement for my signature which included a sentence that on the 21st October, 1959, when we left our camp, Tyagi had disclosed that he was determined to fight the Chinese. I refused to sign it. They then took me down to a nullah threatening me on the way that they would depose of me there. They threatened that I and my men were guilty of having killed their Second-in-Command and, therefore, it would be quite legal for them to shoot me. When I did not yield, he compromised to change the wording “Tyagi might have had an idea to fight the Chinese”. It was extremely cold in the nullah. I was almost dying with pain in my feet and so I agreed to sign the amended statement which was as follows:-

“On 20-10-59, two of our men missed. Tyagi took 60 men with him with heavy arms including four bren-guns, four sten-guns, about 50 rifles and hand-grenades. I also accompanied him. Tyagi might have had a mind to fight against the Chinese. We surrounded the hill where a few Chinese were seen. According to our men, Indian soldiers fired first. According to Shiv Dayal, Constable, it was Manohar Lal, Constable, who took away the Chinese horses.”

40. After that I was taken back to my tent and I was given a quilt. But in spite of this quilt the cold in the tent, where I had been kept since October 25, was so intense that I requested that I should be sent to the pit and this was conceded.

41. Right from the 25th October, 1959, pressure was brought to bear on me daily to confirm that Constable Mohd. Khalil and his companions had been sent to Chinese territory for spying and that our object was to establish a check-post in Chinese territory. After the first two or three days, they dropped the question of the checkpost and said that I might confess to the espionage mission. I told them that this was not a fact but that the patrol had been sent out to ascertain whether there were any Chinese patrols on Indian territory. They told me that they had already obtained a confession to this effect from Constable Mohd Khalil and all that they needed from me was confirmation. I did not have to sign any statement to this effect.

42. On the same day, the Chinese officer drew a sketch of the encounter on the same lines as was done by their senior officer on October 29 th, but on a bigger scale. After completing the sketch, signatures of all of us were obtained. My photograph was taken as I was signing.

43. On the afternoon of November 5, I was again taken out for interrogation which lasted three hours. Particulars of my service after partition were ascertained. On this day, the interrogator addressed me as the famous man of

Ladakh.

44. On November 6, they took us all to the Chang Chenmo river. I sat on the bank of it and the others were asked to stroll along the river in a leisurely manner. The escort was kept away and a movie picture was taken in order to show that we had freedom of movement.

45. On the morning of November 7, we were again taken to the bank of the river where a Chinese Officer using a Ladakhi interpreter and Constable Shiv Dayal as Hindi interpreter, gave a lecture on communism, condemning landlordism and capitalism. A rosy picture was painted of the communist regime. During the same lecture, it was prominently brought out that even now when India was a free country, the British and the Americans owned a number of industrial concerns and that there were still a number of Indian capitalists and landlords. The lecturer said that he hoped that India would get rid of these evils and prosper on the lines of China.

46. In the evening (November 7), I was taken out from the pit to a tent and informed that Constable Abdul Majid had confessed that the first shot was fired by Constable Ali Raza of our force. I refuted this and said that Constable Abdul Majid be called to state this in my presence. Consequently, Abdul Majid was summoned and when questioned in my presence, he said that what he had actually stated was that Constable Ali Raza had fired back long after the Chinese had opened fire. On this, the Chinese officer got enraged and threatened to thrash Abdul Majid. He lost his nerve and admitted that Ali Raza had fired first. I was then forced to sign the following statement:-

“Constable Abdul Majid had stated that it was Constable Ali Raza who fired first. I believe that his statement is correct.”

Then Constable Shiv Dayal was brought before me and was asked to confirm his statement that the Chinese horses had been taken away by Constable Manohar Lal. Shiv Dayal insisted that he had not said so rather he had stated that he saw Constable Manohar Lal touching a Chinese horse. On this, the Hindi interpreter was sent for, who also confirmed the statement of Constable Shiv Dayal. Therefore I refused to sign the prepared statement in possession of the Chinese interpreter which was that according to Shiv Dayal. Constable Manohar Lal had taken away the Chinese horses. Instead, I signed a statement as follows:-

“According to Constable Shiv Dayal, Manohar Lal Constable of the ITB Force was seen touching a Chinese horse. I believe what he states is correct.”

47. Another lecture on Communist indoctrination was given on the morning of November 8.

48. At about 6 P.M., I was segregated from my companions and taken to a tent nearly 50 yards away. They then disclosed to me that the Government of India in their note to the Chinese Government had admitted that I was the

Officer Commanding of the ITB Force. As I had from the very beginning given myself out as the Deputy Commander, I tried to modify the statement by giving the following explanation:-

- (a) That I was a Deputy Superintendent of Police and so was Shri Tyagi. In his absence, I was always called as Officer Commanding.
- (b) My promotion was due and it was possible that my Government may have promoted me since.

I was not made to sign any statement in this regard.

49. After this I was returned to the pit and Jem, Rulia Ram and Constable Shiv Dayal were taken to the tent for further interrogation about my exact designation. Jem. Rulia Ram on return informed me that the Chinese tried to argue with them that I was elder than Tyagi in age and so how was it that Tyagi was senior in rank to me. They maintained that I was the second-in-command.

50. In the afternoon of November 9, we were informed that another senior officer had arrived and that we would be produced before him to make our statements.

51. It was either on November 9th or on the 10th morning that at about 0600 hours the Chinese took away Jem. Rulia Ram, Constables Shiv Dayal, Abdul Majid and Mohd. Khalil informing them that they were to be released. In fact, they were not being released but were taken to the place of incident where a number of snaps and a cine film were taken to show that the Indian party had attacked the Chinese. They also took along the dead body of the Chinese soldier in a coffin and it was used during the filming.

52. At about 8 P.M. on November 10th. I was again taken out of the pit and escorted to a tent by two Chinese sentries who threatened to shoot me. Only one mattress was provided. My interrogation was immediately begun by one officer and an interpreter. They repeatedly threatened me to accept that I had sent the patrol into Chinese territory for spying but I refused to agree. They kept on interrogating me the whole night through; and as I was given insufficient bedding, I was in great agony from the cold and pain in my feet.

53. At about 0700 hours, I was compelled to write out the following myself:-
 "I and Tyagi started for patrolling of the border for establishing checkposts at Tsogstsalu. Hot Sprints (Kayam) and Shamal Lungpa on 29th and 27th September, 1959. We established a Checkpost at Tsogstsalu and arrived at Hot Springs where also we established a Checkpost. On the morning of 20th, our two men missed. Tyagi took about 60 men, 4 bren-guns, about 50 rifles, 4 sten-guns and hand grenades. I accompanied him. Tyagi may have had a mind to fight against the Chinese. (They wanted me to write that Tyagi was determined to fight but I did not agree). I went to the back of the hill. We surrounded the Chinese. A Chinese was seen waving his hand so

as to say "Go away; do not adopt hostile attitude". According to Constable Abdul Majid it was Constable Ali Raza who fired first. According to Constable Shiv Dayal, Constable Manohar Lal was seen touching a Chinese horse. Chinese troops used only rifles, sten-guns, LMGs and hand-grenades during the fight. They did not use any heavy artillery or mortars. ITB Force knows that area north, south and east of Kongka Pass is a part of China. I and my men had never visited this area (battle field) before."

54. The interrogation was continued till about 11.00 hours when I was made to add the following paragraph to my statement:-

"I and my men have been given good treatment by the Chinese Officer and soldiers. I will never do anything which is against the five principles of the Sino-Indian Agreement any more nor I will enter Chinese territory again."

55. Before concluding, I was told that my statement would be tape-recorded some time that day and that I must answer questions exactly as in the statement written out by me. I was feeling very depressed and did not refuse to comply.

56. In the evening at about 1600 hours, a new face, reported to be their senior officer, came into my tent together with the interpreter. He also brought a doctor along who dressed my frost-bitten feet and movie and still pictures were taken. After this, a tape recorder was brought in my tent and the following conversation was recorded:-

Q: Give brief details of the incident.

A: On the morning of 20th, a few of our horses were found missing and we sent two Constables and a Coolie in search. They did not return. On the morning of 21st, Tyagi and I started for their search with about 60 men. We had four bren-guns, three or four sten-guns, about 50 rifles and hand-grenades.

Q: What was Tyagi's intention?

A: He did not express his intention to me although inference could be drawn that he may have had an intention to fight.

Q: Who fired first?

A: According to Constable Abdul Majid, Constable Ali Raza fired first.

Q: Do you know some Chinese horses were taken away by the Indian soldiers?

A: According to Constable Shiv Dayal, Constable Manohar Lal was seen touching a Chinese horse.

Q: Did the Chinese use any heavy artillery or mortar?

A: Chinese soldiers had rifles, tommy-guns, bren-guns and hand-grenades. No heavy artillery or mortars were used by them.

Q: Did you and your solders surround the Chinese soldiers?

A: Yes.

Q: What did the Chinese do when they were surrounded?

A: The Chinese soldier was seen waving his hand.

57. At this stage, I was told that further questioning would be done the next day.

58. On the night between November 11 and 12, all my companions were taken out one by one from the pit for tape-recording their statements. Before they were actually taken each one of them was properly tutored and warned that he must stick to the statement that had already been signed.

59. After my statement had been tape-recorded, I was returned to the pit on the 11th evening and proper bedding was provided.

60. There was nothing of particular interest the next day.

61. On November 13, at about 1500 hours, we were all taken out of the pit. All of us were given a small towel each, sweets and cigarettes in the presence of a senior officer. Both movie and still pictures were taken. Then we were taken to another tent where a meeting was held. A tape-recorder had been fixed in this tent. The senior officer said that we would be released the next day but before that he wanted to hear our ideas and views, especially about the incident. I was asked to speak first in Hindustani. When asked about the incident, I said "One cannot clap with one hand alone and there is no fight without mistakes on both sides. Both sides should be careful in future".

62. After that Rulia Ram and Shiv Dayal spoke briefly. There was nothing of interest in Rulia Ram's speech. Constable Shiv Dayal said, if the Chinese had not captured their men, this encounter would not have taken place as they had no plan to come in this direction. At this stage, as the Chinese felt that in my presence the men were not making statements to their liking, I was asked to go back to my pit and rest there. The 13th evening, I was persuaded to accept

the Namda boots which I did.

63. On the morning of November 14, we were woken up at 0400 hrs. and asked to get ready. A meal was served at 0430 hours. We were informed that we would be released at 10.00 hours, Peking time. We were taken in trucks to the place of handing over. The dead bodies and our arms and ammunition were also taken.

9. Devendra Prasad Singh to Nehru⁹

[Refer to items 176 and 177]

December 14, 1959

Respected Jawaharlalji,
I had been to Kathmandu a few days back and I returned only on the 10th instant. As I have a large number of friends in Kathmandu whom I have known for a very long time I remain very much interested in what happens in Nepal. Whenever there has been the slightest misunderstanding between these friends and ourselves I have felt distressed and it has always been my endeavour to pull whatever little weight I have with these friends in favour of a better understanding with us. At no time during my long association with these friends have I felt that they are less than very friendly to India. In fact they could not be inasmuch as they share the ideals that we have and some of them have even taken part in our struggle for independence. I even believe that quite a few of them love India as much as they love their own country. I write all this to indicate that even if they feel hurt sometimes by what they don't like about us their friendliness remains undiminished.

As you have rightly said Nepal has today a government which is more progressive than any so far. The Ministers are admittedly very hardworking and they are conscious that if they do not succeed their country's future is doomed. The Government of Nepal has to contend against heavy odds. Resources are very limited and there has been a disastrous time lag. It is only when they work very hard and honestly that there can be some hope for their country. The recent developments on our northern frontiers have caused them a serious upset. They are naturally nervous as they feel that if the situation on the northern border deteriorates their country's progress would be seriously hampered. There are vested interests in the country also which cause them

great concern. Although they have not met with any serious opposition as yet from these vested interests they have not shed their fear of them.

There is hardly any anti-Indian feeling among the people of Nepal. Whatever feeling there is against us is confined largely to the valley of Kathmandu. Now that China has become very active on the northern borders of both India and Nepal it is possible that among the border people in Nepal, in some areas, there is a pull towards China. But I am not so sure about it. I have however heard some people say that since the border people are at least partly of Tibetan extraction and as there has never been any worthwhile administrative apparatus functioning in these border areas, there is no feeling of nationalism among these people. They may feel encouraged, they say, to join their Tibetan brethren in view of the land and other reforms initiated by the Chinese in Tibet. In the Terai area of course there is overwhelming feeling of friendliness towards us.

It is unfortunate that the correspondents of our newspapers in Kathmandu send out extremely coloured and even wrong reports of happenings in Nepal. I would give just a few instances. There was a demonstration organised by K.I. Singh and Tanka Prasad and the Communists a few days back to protest against your recent statement about Nepal in the Lok Sabha. Not more than 300 persons joined the demonstration. Shri Bhagwan Sahay as also others of the Indian Embassy confirmed this figure. In fact no one I talked to told me that the figure exceeded 500. But the Indian newspapers have given out that several thousand people joined the demonstration. Some days back The Statesman published a despatch from its Kathmandu correspondent which showed that there was a great deal of anti-Indian feeling in Nepal. Indian Express published a report a few weeks ago that a raging anti-Indian campaign was being carried on in the Terai area of Nepal. The fact is that the Terai people are extremely friendly to us and there is hardly any propaganda in this area against us. Even if all the important political parties tried to turn these Terai people against us they perhaps would fail miserably. Friendly sentiments expressed by the members of the Nepal Government and by others are not given due publicity in the Indian press.

I emphasise all this just because I feel that the reports which appear in our newspapers have given a wrong impression that a large section of the Nepalese people is anti-Indian. Apart from the fact that such an impression is utterly wrong, a disservice to India is done by these reports. Our newspapers serve Nepal also as there are not any newspapers worth the name in the country. What India does for Nepal gets known even to the Nepalese people through our newspapers. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the help which our Government renders to Nepal is properly and adequately publicised through our newspapers. I discussed this matter with Shri Bhagwan Sahay and others

of the Indian Embassy. From what they told me I got the impression that the task was impossible as Indian pressmen in Kathmandu were most of them incorrigible. There is also a feeling among some people that the Indian newspaper representatives are guided by our Embassy and so their dissatisfaction with our press is directed also against us generally. I would, however, like to mention that of late there has been improvement in this respect.

So far as our aid programme in Nepal is concerned, there is a definite recognition of the fact that India wants to render the greatest possible assistance in the development of that country. But there is a complaint also that our men do not speed up the implementation of the aid programme that India has undertaken. As I have not made a close and careful study of the subject I am not in a position to say very definitely as to why this feeling is there.

Nepal has only one window for the outside world and that is India. The Nepalese have innumerable links with us and points of contact. For them the question of being friendly or unfriendly with countries other than India does not very much arise. Being a very small and poor country Nepal is very sensitive. When a press correspondent from India goes to an important public man there and lectures to him on how the Government of Nepal should be run, offence is caused. I think that our Embassy should guide these press representatives and instruct them to avoid conducting themselves in a manner that gives offence. I have also a definite feeling based on some knowledge that some of our men in the Indian Embassy are overbearing in their behaviour and are responsible for a great deal of needless ill will between us and men in the public life of Nepal. I would not say that everyone is overbearing, but some definitely are and have been in the past, whether it be in the Indian Embassy or in our Aid Mission or in the Kosi Project. It is always bad to be supercilious but now when Nepal has acquired a new dignity after the general elections and the setting up of a democratically elected government it is absolutely necessary that our men in these establishments adjust themselves. Whatever little anti-Indian feeling there may be in Nepal is almost wholly due to the supercilious and haughty manner in which some of our men conduct themselves. But I would like to mention that the situation is much better now.

Sometimes back there was a general grievance against the Indian officials connected with the Kosi Project. Opposition to Gandak in certain circles might have been caused to some extent by the fact that a good number of the Nepalese people, particularly among the intelligentsia, were accorded discourteous treatment by some of our men in the Kosi Project. Under the guidance of the Kosi Administrator and as a consequence of the reaction produced among the Nepalis, a noticeable change for the better has taken place now. But it is difficult to say that all is well yet. Similarly there is a grievance against the functioning

of the Indian Aid Mission. In addition to the feeling that implementation of the Indian Aid Programme is not expedited, there is some anger also at the manner in which some of the officials in the Mission behave. The treatment which the officials and men in the public life of Nepal have received at the hands of some of the men of the Indian Airlines Office staff at Patna has also given considerable offence. Scant courtesy is shown to the Nepalese wanting to avail of the air travel facility between Kathmandu and Patna. Sometime back when I had been to Kathmandu I drew the attention of our Ambassador to this and he advised me to take the matter up here in Delhi.

I would also like to tell you of the offence caused recently even by our genial Ambassador himself to the Prime Minister and others in Nepal Government. Shri Bhagwan Sahay has been very informal and friendly and there is no doubt that he has carved a place for himself in the affections of the people of Nepal, particularly in Kathmandu. His relations with Shri Koirala and others in the Government of Nepal have been very cordial. It is therefore difficult to, understand his behaviour on the eve of his departure from the country. He went to a party given by the Prime Minister in his honour, nearly a fortnight back, one and a half hour late when everyone else, including diplomats of other countries, was waiting for him. This created a very bad impression. Again, at a party given in his honour by the Prime Minister to which ministers and some others, including myself, were invited Shri Sahay talked in an offensive manner while discussing some of the Nepalese ministers with Shri Koirala. Shri Koirala naturally did not like it and made that clear. Even before this, I understand, in connection with the signing of the Gandak Agreement, Shri Sahay had hurt and offended the Prime Minister. All this, to some extent, has become known also to a section of the people in Kathmandu. There are also reports that some members of our Embassy there had been trying to create ill will between Shri Sahay and some members of the Nepal Cabinet, including the Prime Minister. The behaviour of some of the men in our Embassy cannot indeed be regarded as wholly satisfactory.

I was grieved over this development and I wondered why Shri Bhagwan Sahay conducted himself in this manner. May be he had stayed too long and outlived his utility in Nepal and it is also possible that the informal relations which had grown up between him and many of the members of the Nepal Government induced him not to be very careful and polite. May I venture to suggest that the men we send out to Nepal for the different Indian establishments there should be men who are not only intelligent and capable but are also imbued with sympathy and are men of understanding? We are a very big country and there is a natural tendency among us to be somewhat overbearing and patronising in our contacts with the people of Nepal. Unless special efforts are made to

curb this tendency, our men, at least some of them, will go on causing offence and injuring our relations with that country. May I also suggest that no one, particularly in important positions in our establishments in Nepal, should stay there for a very long time?

I am very sorry to have inflicted such a long letter on you when you have very little time to spare. I have done so in the belief that I may be of some little help in the cementing of relations between our country and Nepal. I crave your forgiveness for whatever I have said which you may not like. But I assure you I have been actuated by a desire that our relations with Nepal which are very friendly indeed should improve further. I can't say that we can afford to be careless.

If you, Sir, are able to spare some time and if you think that there is some necessity for it, I may be asked to meet you.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
D.P. Singh

10. Eisenhower to Nehru¹⁰

[Refer to items 186 and 187]

December 14, 1959

I recall to you your observation about the opportunity of the Shah of Iran to strengthen his position politically, by initiating real land reform. He informed me today that he is, within the next two or three days, to introduce a bill to his Parliament, which he says will pass, and of which the following are the highlights. Already of course, as you are well aware, he has initiated a token land reform by dividing up a great portion of his own private estates. But he is now moving in a much more radical direction. First of all, the limits for landholdings of the country will be seven hundred acres. The second point is that the landholders will have to sell their land to the government at the assessed value on which they have been paying taxes. Thirdly, the government will pay off the indebtedness in fifteen years, initially issuing bonds on which they will pay three percent. The holdings allowed to each peasant will vary somewhat to the nature of the terrain and climatic condition, as well as population density.

10. Letter. File No. 49(5)-AMS/59, MEA.

The land will be sold to the peasant on a twenty year basis, with six percent interest, and at an amount not greater than its cost to the government. The plan calls for completion of the distribution within a space of two years. He thinks that some little more time may be required in certain instances because of complications as to current number of tenant farmers, and so on.

The Shah gladly gave me his permission to pass this information to you personally to be kept confidential until after the bill has been submitted to the Parliament. With respect to the possible opposition of the landholders, he said, "Well, after all there [are] about one hundred of them. What can they do? In my opinion this move will be approved by the public and the landholders themselves will make no kick whatsoever.

11. Shri Ranjan to Nehru¹¹

[Refer to item 98]

December 15, 1959

My dear Jawaharlal ji,

I am indeed thankful for your letter No. 2626-PMH/59 dated 10th December, 1959.

The Mathematical Conference stands and brisk preparations are going on for the holding of the Conference. It is kind of you to have enquired of me whether it will embarrass me if you attended the Conference. I do not now envisage any trouble and it will indeed be a pleasure if you come to inaugurate it.

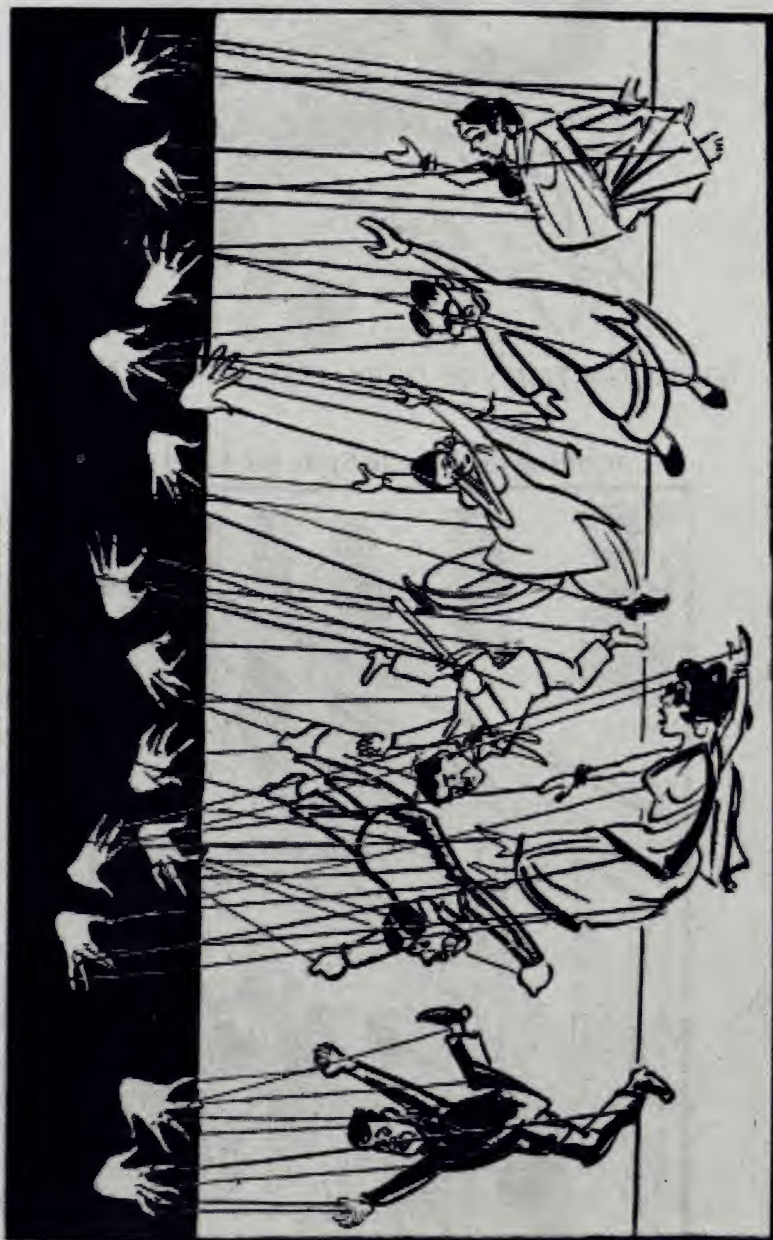
I was happy to learn from the District Magistrate that you have also kindly accepted our Dinner on the 25th. My wife specially rejoices at your acceptance.

I confess the University is passing through a bad period this session. I had hoped that the University had tided over her chronic troubles; but I regret that I was mistaken. This year some bad elements amongst the students slipped in who belong to inimical political parties and who are backed financially and otherwise by those parties to create trouble within the University with the collusion of some teachers and ex-teachers of the University. Though belated, stern measures have now been taken, and I see your hidden hand in it. The movement of the police inside the University and the simultaneous announcement of closure of the University had to be synchronized in order to implement the decision of closure as peacefully as possible. The rowdy elements

11. Letter. File No. 8/123/59-PMS.

[Puppetry in Education]

The Hidden Hand



Much of student indiscipline has been due to behind-the-scene manipulations of politicians and other interested outsiders.

FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 31 JANUARY 1960

[Growing Student Indiscipline]



(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 13 DECEMBER 1959)

[Cutting the Nose to Spite the Face]



"Troubled? Close down the others too and there will be no indiscipline."

FROM *SHANKAR'S WEEKLY*, 3 JANUARY 1960

amongst the students were caught unawares and therefore could not stage any mass demonstrations. Now, the next step, which will be taken very soon, will be the expulsion of thirty or forty ring leaders amongst the students. The student-trouble in the U.P. Universities has become chronic and some major decisions will have to be taken at the state level, in the direction of making the Executive Bodies of the Universities more homogeneous and effective.

My wife sends you her kindest regards in which I too join.

[Yours sincerely,
Shri Ranjan]

12. Chou En-lai to Nehru¹²

[Refer to items 161 to 163 and 179]

Peking,
December 17, 1959

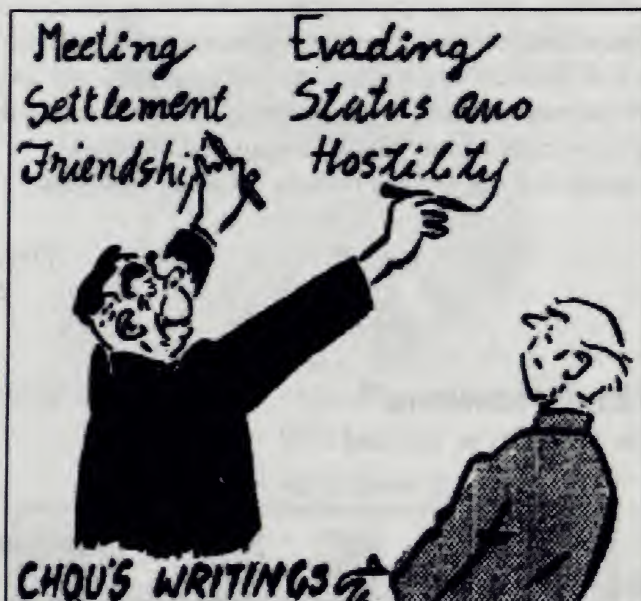
Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 16th November 1959. Although the Government of India's opinions regarding the prevention of border clashes are still a certain distance away from the Chinese Government's proposal of 7th November and part of them obviously lack fairness, it is heartening that in your letter you have indicated the desire of trying to avoid all border clashes and to settle the boundary dispute between the two countries by peaceful methods.

The Chinese Government's proposal of 7th November for the withdrawal of the armed forces of the two countries 20 kilometres respectively along the entire border is aimed at thoroughly eliminating the risk of border clashes not wholly foreseeable, completely changing the present tense situation on the border where the two countries are facing each other in arms, and creating a favourable atmosphere of mutual confidence between the two countries. These aims are unattainable by other provisional measures. Furthermore, the adopting of these measures pending the delimitation of the boundary will in no way prejudice the advancing by each side of its claims as soon as negotiation for the settlement of the boundary question takes place. Therefore the Chinese Government still earnestly hopes that we can reach agreement on such a measure for the sake of friendship between our two countries in the past and for hundreds of years to come. As to how far the armed forces of each country should withdraw, the

12. From *White Paper III*, pp. 52-57. Also available in JN Collection.

[Chou Writes with Both Hands]



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 27 DECEMBER 1959)

Chinese Government is entirely willing to decide on a distance which will be deemed appropriate by both sides through consultation with the Government of India.

Pending the above mentioned agreement, the Chinese Government in a conciliatory spirit and out of the desire to move towards the withdrawal of armed forces along the entire border, is prepared to agree first to reach a partial solution by applying the proposal you have made in your letter for the non standing of the armed forces of both sides at Longju to the other disputed places on the border as well. In the Eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, armed Indian personnel once occupied Longju and are now still in occupation in Khinzemane. In the Western sector of the Sino-India border, armed Indian personnel are upto now in occupation of Shipki pass, Parigas, Sang, Tsungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Chuva, Chuje, Sangcha and Laphthal. Most of these places which definitely belong to China were occupied successively by armed Indian personnel after the signing of the 1954 Agreement on trade and inter course between the Tibetan region of China and India in which China and India for the first time put forward the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Among them Puling-Sumdo is one of the ten places which the Chinese Government agreed to open as markets for trade in the Ari area of the Tibetan region of China as

specified in Article II Section 2 of the 1954 Agreement. Now since the Government of India holds a different opinion on the ownership of these places, the Chinese Government proposes that no armed personnel of either side be stationed at any of them.

Pending a further agreement between the two sides, the Chinese Government also welcomes the Government of India's proposal for the frontier outposts of the two sides to stop sending out patrols. The Chinese Government, has in fact, instructed the Chinese frontier guards to stop sending out patrols from all their outposts on the Sino-Indian border after the Kongka pass incident. Now that the Indian side has also taken the same step, this is of course a happy progress in safeguarding the tranquility of the border between the two countries. But the Chinese Government would like to ask for clarification on one point, that is: the proposal to stop patrolling should apply to the entire Sino-Indian border, and no different measure should be adopted in the sector of the border between China and India's Ladakh.

The Chinese Government is very much perplexed by the fact that Your Excellency put forward a separate proposal for the prevention of clashes in the sector of the border between China and India's Ladakh. The Chinese Government deem it necessary to point out the following:

(1) There is no reason to treat this sector of the border as a special case. The line up to which each side exercises actual control in this sector is very clear, just as it is in the other sectors of the Sino-Indian border. As a matter of fact the Chinese map published in 1956 to which Your Excellency referred, correctly shows the traditional boundary between the two countries in this sector. Except for the Parigas area by the Shangatsangpu River, India has not occupied any Chinese territory east of this section of the traditional boundary.

(2) This proposal of Your Excellency's represents a big step backward from the principle agreed upon earlier by the two countries of maintaining for the time being the state actually existing on the border. To demand a great change in this state as a pre-condition for the elimination of border clashes is not to diminish but to widen the dispute.

(3) Your Excellency's proposal is unfair. Your Excellency proposes that in this sector Chinese personnel withdraw to the East of the boundary as shown on Indian maps and Indian personnel withdraw to the West of the boundary as shown in Chinese maps. This proposal may appear "equitable" to those who are ignorant about the truth. But even the most anti-Chinese part of the Indian bloc pointed out immediately that, under this proposal, India's "concession" would only be theoretical because to begin with, the area concerned does not belong to India and India has no personnel there

to withdraw, while China would have to withdraw from a territory of above 33000 square kilometres, which has long belonged to it, its military personnel guarding the frontiers and its civil administration personnel of the Hotien County, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, and of Rudok Dzong in the Ari area of the Tibetan autonomous region respectively.

This area has long been under Chinese jurisdiction and is of great importance to China. Since the Ching dynasty this area has been the traffic artery linking up the vast regions of Sinkiang and Western Tibet. As far back as in the latter half of 150 it was along the traditional route in this area that units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered the Ari area of Tibet from Sinkiang to guard the frontiers. In the nine years since then, they have been making regular and busy use of this route to bring supplies. On the basis of this route, the motor road over 1200 kilometres long from Yehcheng in South-West Sinkiang to Gartok in South-West Tibet was built by Chinese Frontier Guard units together with more than 3000 civilian builders working under extremely difficult natural conditions from March 1956 to October 1957, cutting across high mountains, throwing bridges and building culverts. For up to eight or nine years since the peaceful liberation of Sinkiang and Tibet when units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army began to be stationed therein and patrolled this area till September 1958 when intrusion of the area by armed Indian personnel occurred, so many activities were carried out by the Chinese side in this area under its jurisdiction, and yet the Indian side was utterly unaware of them. This is eloquent proof that this area has indeed always been under Chinese jurisdiction and not under Indian jurisdiction. Now the Government of India asserted that this area has all along been under Indian jurisdiction. This is absolutely unconvincing.

If the Government of India after being acquainted with the above viewpoints of the Chinese Government should still insist that its demand in regard to this area is proper then the Chinese Government would like to know whether Government of India is prepared to apply the same principle equally to the Eastern sector of the border, that is to say, to require both the Chinese and Indian sides to withdraw all their personnel from the area between the so called McMahon Line and the Eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary as shown on Chinese map (and on Indian map too during a long period of time). The Chinese Government has not upto now made any demand in regard to the area South of the so called McMahon Line as a precondition or interim measure, and what I find difficult to understand is why Government of India should demand that the Chinese side withdraw one sided from its Western frontier area.

Your Excellency and the Government of India have repeatedly referred to historical data concerning the Sino-Indian boundary as produced by the Indian

side. The Chinese side had meant to give its detailed reply to Your Excellency's letter of 26th September and the Note of the Indian External Affairs Ministry of 4th November in the forthcoming talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries and thought it more appropriate to do so. Since talks between the two Prime Ministers have not yet taken place, however, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs will give a reply in the near future. I do not wish to go here into details of the matter. I would only point out again the simple fact that according to objective history the entire boundary between our two countries has indeed never been delimited and it is impossible to deny this. I have noticed that the Indian side has in its account of the boundary between the two countries purposely left out many obvious basic facts. For example it does not mention the fact that on the official map compiled by the Survey of India in the past upto the 1938 edition the delineation of the Eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary still corresponded to that on Chinese map while the Western Section of the Sino-Indian boundary was not drawn at all; even in its 1950, 1951 and 1952 editions published after the founding of the People's Republic of China both Eastern and Western sections of the Sino-Indian boundary though incorrectly drawn was clearly indicated as undelimited. The Chinese Government cannot see on what ground the Government of India began suddenly in recent years to change the undelimited boundary in both Eastern and Western sectors on its maps into delimited boundary. I have made a detailed study of the part of data cited in your Excellency's letter of 26th September still I cannot find any satisfactory answer.

The Chinese Government have pointed out many times that the boundary between China and India is very long and has never been delimited by the two Governments, that there are discrepancies between the maps of the two countries and that therefore it is natural that the two countries should hold different opinions regarding boundary. A reasonable settlement of this outstanding historical issue should not be difficult at all to achieve provided it is sought through friendly consultations. The People's Republic of China is a socialist country of the working people exploiting classes and pro-imperialist forces who attempted to profit by outward expansion and provocations against other countries have long lost for good their footing for carrying out their activities. The People's Republic of China is consistently faithful to the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence; it absolutely does not allow itself to take an attitude of big-nation chauvinism towards other countries, let alone encroaching one inch upon foreign territory. Further, China has such a vast expanse of territory, more than half of which moreover is sparsely populated and will take great efforts to develop. It would be extremely ludicrous to think that such a country would still want to seek trouble in some desolate areas of a neighbouring country.

Therefore although there are some undelimited sections in the boundaries between China and some of its neighbouring countries in South Asia (whether they are big or small friendly or unfriendly towards China) China has not taken and will never take advantage of this situation to make any change in the state actually existing on the border by resorting to unilateral action. China is moreover prepared even after the settlement of the outstanding boundary issues to work in unison and cooperation with all its neighbouring countries for the creation of a most peaceful secure and friendly boundary. Your Excellency is aware that the so-called McMahon Line in the Eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border has never been recognized by past Chinese Governments nor by the Government of the People's Republic of China yet the Government of People's Republic of China will be strictly abided by its statement of absolutely not allowing its armed personnel to cross this line in wait for a friendly settlement of the boundary question. It is quite obvious that China which has not even stepped into the vast area South of the so called McMahon line which, not long ago, was still under the jurisdiction of the local Government of the Tibetan region of China (part of the area up to 1951) would of course not think of stepping into Indian territory at any place along the Western sector of the Sino-Indian border. The Chinese military and civil administrative personnel over there, just as in other areas along the border, are only stationed on task of guarding their own territory. However the Government of India have not only taken an unreasonable attitude of refusing to discuss the Eastern sector of the border, but also laid territorial claim to an area in the Western sector of the border, which has never been under Indian rule. This has indeed greatly surprised the Chinese Government and people. In the interest of upholding Sino-Indian friendship, the Chinese Government have always exercised the utmost self-restraint in the hope of settling these disputes with the Government of India through friendly negotiations. Even after armed Indian personnel intruded into Chinese territory and provoked successively the incidents in the area South of Migyitun and South of the Kongka Pass, the Chinese Government still maintained a conciliatory spirit, avoided aggravation of the situation and dealt in a friendly manner with the armed Indian personnel captured in the Kongka Pass incident yet the Indian side, disregarding the objective facts, arbitrarily impressed that both incidents were provoked by China, that China maltreated Indian personnel, and even unscrupulously abused China as aggressor, imperialist totalitarian. I must say that both our people and Government, feel extremely regretted at such a serious state of affairs.

Your Excellency expressed welcome to our 7th November proposal for holding of talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries. Here indeed lies the hope for a turn for the better in the relations between the two countries.

[Pugilist Chou]

DECEMBER 27, 1959

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY

BOXING DAY

CHOUEN LAI HAS SUGGESTED
A MEETING ON DEC. 26 TO
DISCUSS THE BORDER QUESTION



FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 27 DECEMBER 1959

Although there are differences of opinion between our two countries on the boundary question, I believe that this in no way hinders the holding of talks between the two Prime Ministers; on the contrary, it precisely requires its early realisation so as to reach first some agreements of principle as a guidance to concrete discussions and settlement of the boundary question by the two sides. Without such a guidance, there is a danger that concrete discussion of the boundary question by the two sides may bog down in endless and fruitless debates. I therefore make the concrete proposal that the two Prime Ministers begin talks on 26th December. If you wish to suggest any other date I am also willing to give it consideration. As to site of the talks if you agree any place in China can be chosen because there are in China no activities hostile to Sino-Indian friendship and you will be welcomed and respected by our people as a distinguished guest of the Chinese Government. Should you find it inconvenient for you to hold talks in China, Rangoon can be fixed as the site of the talks subject to the consent of the Burmese Government.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister! Both our countries are still very backward economically and culturally. We urgently need to engross ourselves in long term peaceful construction at home so as to free ourselves step by step from the present state of backwardness. We have no need to create tension between our two friendly nations or between us and any other country, thus dissipating and diverting our people's attention from domestic matters. The peoples of our two countries and the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world are inspired by the fact that the world situation is developing in a direction favourable to peace. But unfortunately there are still not a few influential groups in the world who obstinately oppose this trend; they are trying to poison the international atmosphere, continue the cold war and create tension to place barriers in the way of east-west talks; they are slandering the peace policy of the socialist countries and inciting discord between the Asian African countries and the socialist countries, so that they may profit thereby. At present they are obviously exerting their utmost to sow discord between China and India. Under these circumstances the speedy holding of talks between the two Prime Ministers is our unsinkable responsibility for not only to our two peoples but also to World peace. With high respects,

Chou En-lai,
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

13. Partap Singh Kairon to Nehru¹³*[Refer to item 25]*

December 19, 1959

I am grateful to you for your letter No. 2672-PMH/59 of December 16.

2. The detailed enquiries made during the investigation of the case against Grewal and others clearly established that it was not a matter of an encounter with the police, and that the deceased were deliberately done to death. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the categorical conclusion arrived at by the Additional Sessions Judge that it was a case of encounter. It is in this background that the question of an appeal, which you mention, must be considered. On this important issue I thought it best to obtain legal advice, not only from the normal Government sources, but also from an outstanding criminal lawyer (Mr. J.G. Sethi). The judgement is long and the evidence complicated, and I have not yet received written advice from these legal authorities, but from what I have been told about the case, it appears there are good grounds for appeal, and I propose to put this through as soon as the necessary formalities are completed. As desired I am enclosing a copy of the judgement for your perusal.

3. It is true that the judgement has received considerable publicity, I am convinced that much of this is deliberately engineered. It is unfortunate that, like some other States, we have also quite a vociferous dissenting group in the Congress Organisation itself, apart from the parties in Opposition. Together, and separately, they do not hesitate to highlight, exaggerate and twist situations with a view to gain political advantage. Whenever action is taken against influential Government officials, the latter find easy and willing helpers in these persons, in an attempt to escape the consequences of their actions, or at least to get them enveloped in a controversial political atmosphere, so as to divert attention from the real issue.

4. It is quite incorrect that the cases against Grewal and Kapur, which have been given a lot of publicity in the press, have been the result of any highhandedness on my part. It has been my unfortunate duty to take up cases against persons holding high posts in the State, and you will kindly appreciate that such persons should not be allowed to escape the consequences of their acts. I have, as you know, been most anxious to purge the administration of undesirable officers, who are misfits. I have, and indeed could have absolutely no personal enmity with anyone of them. Both the above officers had, in fact,

gained considerably at my hands in the past, as I was anxious to bring out the good, if any, in them. As you may be aware, I assisted Shri Kapur in getting him a fair trial when in the Jagat Narain case he was in danger of being expelled from service, but ultimately when his criminal activities persisted, I had to suspend him pending a criminal case under Section 420 IPC against him. Here again I have endeavoured to ensure that the whole matter is decided in a fair way, through a Court, and not in any executive forum. Similarly, Grewal was also given a rise by me, but subsequently had to be dealt with for his alleged criminal acts. You will kindly agree with me that bold decisions taken in such cases always invite criticism at the hands of interested persons who can easily impute personal, political and communal motives. As you will remember this happened some years ago also, when as Development Minister, I had to take action against the Heads of the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments and more recently in the case of Kanpur.

5. As for Grewal, apart from this case of murder, he is involved in a departmental enquiry for corruption, charging false TA and the misuse of his official position. A copy of the charges against him is also enclosed. In the case of Kapur, there is a long history of unsatisfactory character and doubtful conduct running into several years. He started service in Madras, and his confidential record from that State is much worse than any remarks he has earned here. This describes him as guilty of misconduct, impulsive, insubordinate, inclined to be a rebel, insolent, having a cunning and scheming mind, untrustworthy and unreliable, having no sense of loyalty and a tendency to intrigue, vindictive and lacking in balance, devoted to nothing except his own interests and never hesitating to make incorrect statements. It was also reported that he had trouble with every Collector under whom he served and that he was a 'thorough misfit in the ICS'. Most of these adverse remarks relate to his work and conduct before his coming over to the Punjab in 1948, and the opinions expressed can thus obviously have no bias from this administration. I mention these as illustrating the type of officers we have to deal with.

6. Knowing that you are very kind to me, the sole aim of my political rivals has all along been to prejudice against me, the mind of my most esteemed and beloved leader. So far because of your firm attitude towards people who harbour enmity, ill will and pick up and twist matters for their own political advantage, such persons have not succeeded in their efforts to do me harm in political life. I am confident that the present vendetta will also disappear when they know that they are not succeeding in their campaign of vilification against me. These people did not even spare me when a case of defamation was filed by my son against Shri Harbhajan Singh, Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, Punjab. The trial Magistrate at that time, received a couple of hundred letters against

me, and this was done by these persons to prejudice his judgement in that case.

7. As to the general complaint made by some MPs of my ill-treatment of them, I would like to say that this is totally wrong. I have all along been courteous and have been endeavouring to carry all persons with me irrespective of the party or group to which they belong and I shall continue doing so.

8. I am highly grateful to you for taking such a keen and personal interest in me, and I always look up to you for inspiration and your support and guidance. I may assure you that I am fully alive to the situation, and peoples' happiness and contentment are uppermost in my mind. With God's grace and your blessings, this State is going ahead and is progressing in all spheres. There is, thus, no cause for any undue alarm or anxiety.

14. **B.N. Chakravarty to Nehru¹⁴**

[Refer to item 151]

The Ministry of Irrigation and Power desire to invite the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage and allied international organisations to hold their 5th Plenary Session in India in 1963-64. The draft summary for the Cabinet has been sent to us for concurrence.

2. A similar invitation was extended in 1957 to these international organisations to hold their plenary sessions in India in 1960-61. The invitation was not, however, accepted and the sessions were held elsewhere. On that occasion we were approached for our concurrence after the Cabinet had already been approached. We had no idea about the membership of these international organisations. We now find that among the members of the various Commissions are Kuomintang China (Taiwan), whom we do not recognise; Portugal, South Africa and Israel. The proposal is that the Central Board of Irrigation & Power, acting in its capacity as the National Committee for India, would invite the international organisations to hold their sessions in India in 1963-64. Invitation to the members would be issued by the international organisations themselves and not by the Central Board of Irrigation & Power.

3. Since we had extended the invitation so recently and the invitation could not be accepted, we had asked the Ministry of Irrigation & Power to reconsider whether it is desirable to repeat the invitation again. That Ministry has stated that they are keen to have these conferences in India as they afford good opportunities to Indian engineers to meet experts from abroad and discuss

14. Note, 21 December 1959. File No. 30(19)-UN1/59, MEA.

problems with them. There are also additional advantages in holding such conferences in India—prestige, foreign exchange earnings, etc.

4. In October 1958 our concurrence had been sought by the Railway Board to extending an invitation to the International Railway Congress Association to hold its session in India in 1960. Apparently Kuomintang China (Taiwan) was also a member of this Association. In that connection S.G. had suggested extending our present practice in regard to meetings held under the auspices of U.N. and its specialized agencies, to meetings of international associations of standing and importance, which are entirely non-political in character, provided that invitations are sent not by this Government or by any other Government but by the association itself. P.M. however, did not approve of this proposal generally, but agreed to make an exception in the case of International Railway Congress Association. Since no decision was taken, I am submitting the present proposal to P.M. for his order.

5. Normally I would have had no hesitation in recommending that we agree to the proposal of the Ministry of I & P on the understanding that the Central Board of Irrigation & Power will issue formal invitations to the international organisations concerned, who will in turn send out invitations to individual member countries. I feel, however, that in the present state of our relations with China we need not now extend invitation to the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage as any such invitation will be used by China for anti-Indian propaganda. Although the invitation would be for holding the session in 1963-64, the invitation will have to be issued now. Since we had invited these organisations as late as 1957 we not repeat the invitation immediately. We could extend the invitation again for the next session i.e. the one due to be held in 1965-66.

15. Khrushchev to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 91]

Construction of Bhilai Steel Plant—Khrushchev Nehru Correspondence

December 22, 1959

The following is a translation of a letter received by the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru from the Soviet Prime Minister, Nikita Khrushchev:-

Dear Prime Minister,

With a feeling of great joy the Soviet people have learned that the builders of the Bhilai Plant have gained a new victory of labour and have put into operation the second open hearth furnace, a blooming mill and a continuous billet rolling mill, having completed thereby the construction of the whole metallurgical cycle at this biggest industrial enterprise. From this memorable day on the plant will start producing for the country rolled steel, which is so necessary for her economy.

With great satisfaction we have also received the report that new units will be put into operation at the plant within the next few days; the second coke oven battery and the second blast furnace, which will at once permit to considerably increase the production of pig iron and steel.

I am availing myself of this happy occasion in order to convey to you, dear Mr. Prime Minister, and through you to all the people of India the most cordial congratulations on behalf of the Soviet people, the Soviet Government and on my own behalf.

The Soviet people, who have traversed a great path of struggle for the turning of their country from an agrarian country into a highly developed industrial one, will understand the tremendous importance for the Indian people of the first successes achieved in the industrialisation and the strengthening of the economic independence of India. From the bottom of our hearts we send warm greetings to the Indian workers, engineers and technicians who have, in collaboration with the Soviet specialists, scored a remarkable victory in the construction of the Bhilai Steel Plant—a symbol of the inviolable friendship between our peoples.

We also note with pleasure the fact that an atmosphere of friendly joint work of the Indian and Soviet specialists has developed at the Bhilai Steel Project and that in the process of the construction there grow and perfect themselves Indian national cadres of qualified specialists who will make their worthy contribution to the construction and operation of future industrial enterprises of their home industry. We are confident that in the course of further Soviet-Indian economic and technical cooperation the spirit of creation and business cooperation born at the Bhilai construction will assume an all round development.

Permit me once more to heartily congratulate you and through you the Indian Government and all the Indian people on outstanding successes achieved in Bhilai and to wish the Indian people well being, happiness and prosperity.

Yours respectfully,
N. Khrushchev

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
Bangalore	Bengaluru
Bombay	Mumbai
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
CPI/CP	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Party in Parliament
Cr.PC	Criminal Procedure Code
CSF	Congress Socialist Forum
DCC	District Congress Committee
DKW	Dampf-Kraft-Wagen
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
ECAFE	Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
FACT	Fertilisers and Chemicals Travancore
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
Formosa	Taiwan
GOI	Government of India
I&B	(Ministry of) Information and Broadcasting
ICU	Indian Cooperative Union
IFAP	Indian Federation of Agricultural Producers
INA	Indian National Army

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ISI	Indian Statistical Institute
ITB	Indo-Tibetan Border (Force)
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
LMG	Light Machine Gun
<i>Lok Sabha Debates</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates in the</i> [as appropriate] <i>Session of the Lok Sabha</i> , various volumes, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi.
Madras (City)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MJP	Mahagujarat Janata Parishad
MLA	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NHTA	Naga Hills-Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Ooty	Udhagamandalam
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Peking	Beijing
PEC	Pradeshik Education Corps
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PMH	Prime Minister's House
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
<i>Rajya Sabha Debates</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates in the</i> [as appropriate] <i>Session of the Rajya Sabha</i> , various volumes, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi.
Rangoon	Yangon
SR & CA	(Ministry of) Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs

SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru/First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru/Second Series</i>
TCM	Technical Cooperation Mission
UAR	United Arab Republic
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UN/UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA/US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organisation
<i>White Paper II</i>	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged between the Governments of India and China, September—November 1959 and A Note on the Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India. White Paper No. II</i> (n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959].
<i>White Paper III</i>	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged between the Governments of India and China, November 1959—March 1960. White Paper No. III</i> (n.d.) [New Delhi, 1960].

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Some vignettes from this volume:

- Nehru said of Kunzru, "Dr. Kunzru has a habit of falling out of step. He fell out of step forty years ago with the national movement. He cannot keep pace with the advance of our nation or of the world. He is so deeply engrossed in the vast extent of his old learning that the new learning passes by."
- As Nehru waxed eloquent on "our war machine" and asked Kunzru to "appreciate this fact", Kunzru riposted, "I appreciated it much earlier than you. Have a little modesty. That will befit you."
- Nehru informed the Rajya Sabha that Ganga Sharan had claimed that "I was suffering from certain rust, mental or otherwise, or bodily."
- Nehru fretted at a Congress Parliamentary Party meeting that while CPI members paid large sums to their party, "it is not very creditable to us as a party to show large arrears, it shows people are not keen."
- Nehru reassured Gadgil that the Punjab dissidents "are not a bright lot from the point of view of any work. They only flourish in criticising."
- An exasperated S.K. Dey commented on Gunada Majumdar to Nehru: "He is a demagogue par excellence. Further, he is a typical representative of the PSP movement in India in the sense that he likes to preach from a pulpit but does not wish to be accountable to any one for anything."
- Informing Rita Dar that the Swedish Prime Minister's wife was a school teacher, Nehru advised her, "You might pass this on to your friend, the former Egyptian Ambassador, who has rabid views on women."
- When asked by a CBS reporter, "I am rather curious about the rose which you always wear. Is there a particular reason for it, Sir?" Nehru responded, "None other than that normally my clothes are so drab that I want to see some colour."

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